



**Master's thesis**

**Urban Studies and Planning**

URBAN DIY ENCLAVES?  
The 'Alternative' Cultural Spaces of Helsinki's Music Scenes 2000–2019

Juho Hänninen

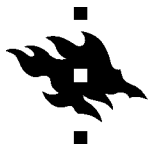
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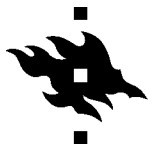
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<p>The themes of this thesis are alternative, informal, and uncommercial cultural spaces, the scenes using the spaces, and the individual scene participants. The study's frame is Helsinki between 2000–2019. The study combines relevant theoretical discussion from subculture research tradition and urbanism. The key concepts of the thesis are 'scenes,' a cultural definition of 'subculture,' 'alternative cultural spaces,' 'DIY culture' ('do it yourself'), and 'enclaves.' The thesis presents Helsinki's 'DIY landscape' to consist of interconnected actors—scene participants—who are part of a network that revolves around making, performing and facilitating music in a specific urban infrastructure—the city, Helsinki—and in which the alternative cultural spaces create physical 'hubs' for the scene.</p> <p>The data has been collected online via a combination of oral history recollections and qualitative surveying. The data was collected in collaboration between Helsinki City Museum and Music Archive Finland in fall 2019. The data consist of 70 individual responses. The data is treated through the epistemology of qualitative research and oral history, and therefore is seen to include both 'factual' information and the informant's subjective interpretations, their experience. On a practical level, the analysis has been conducted mainly via qualitative content analysis (QCA), but also geographic information system (GIS) has been used.</p> <p>The study aims to explicate a widely recognized but poorly known cultural phenomenon. The study's key results are as follows. Four types of alternative cultural spaces have existed: dedicated buildings, rooms, outdoor venues, and even a ship. All of the study's 34 spaces have hosted live music events and a variety of other cultural, political, and social activities. The spaces have been acquired for use by renting, squatting, and asking permission, and in two cases are owned by the facilitator. With some exceptions, they are located in the fringe areas of Helsinki's city center, have a relatively short lifespan (maximum of five years in a set location) and share 'aesthetics of necessity' that roots meager or non-existent funding and the use of subcultural symbols and art. The spaces follow certain 'DIY operating principles' that aim to create an encouraging and inclusive atmosphere for DIY participation.</p> <p>The spaces, and their users, have faced a variety of challenges, setbacks, and problems. These are rooted in funding, the deficits of the buildings and their facilities, and to other citizens, the police, and the City of Helsinki. The City's role emerges from the data as ambivalent—a constrainer and enabler. According to the responder's experience, the City does not have a uniform policy towards the use of vacant urban space, and DIY culture overall is not recognized. For the scenes, the alternative cultural spaces function as platforms where cherish—often 'marginal'—music and subcultures. Some of the participants connect political and societal ideals to the spaces and DIY activities.</p> <p>DIY activities emerged as—sometimes self-purposefully—social and communal by their nature. In the spaces between scene participants take place socio-cultural 'cross-fertilization,' which sometimes leads to new organizational groups and even scenes forming. These might relocate their practices elsewhere, and thus DIY culture spreads to new locations in the urban infrastructure. For the individual scene participants, crossing with the scene represents an important part of finding a social reference group. Some of the responders described going through a 'DIY phase,' which is a several yearlong period in their youth when life orientations and identity are intensively connected to DIY culture. The meaningfulness of scene participation lasts to later life, even if the participant's active years are foregone. For some, the skills and knowledge acquired in the scene creates a basis for a more professional career in cultural production. As the reasons for the diminish or end of the DIY participation are given the closure of an alternative cultural space focal for the participant, challenges in activities, and major life events.</p> <p>In the discussion, the thesis suggests the concept of 'urban DIY enclaves' in the toolboxes of urban planners and designers. The DIY enclaves differentiate from the broader urban landscape by their condition, aesthetics, political messages, and subcultural symbols. Socially they have been constructed to advance DIY culture and cherish the creative lifestyle associated with it. The concept is suggested as a device for acknowledging the existence of DIY culture; in other words, its need for space, and its participants' eagerness to participate in the construction of the urban and cultural landscape.</p>			
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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract <p>Tämän opinnäytteen aihe on Helsingin epäviralliset ja -kaupalliset omaehtoisen musiikin kulttuuritilat, tiloja käyttäneet skenet sekä skeneihin osallistujat. Tutkimuksen aikarajaus on 2000–2019. Tutkimus nivoutuu teoreettisesti kahteen tutkimusperinteeseen: alakulttuuritutkimus ja yhdyskuntasuunnittelu (<i>urbanism</i>). Työn keskeiset käsitteet ovat skene, kulttuurisesti ja symbolisesti määrittynyt alakulttuuri, vaihtoehtoinen kulttuuritila, omaehtoinen kulttuuri (<i>do it yourself, DIY culture</i>) ja saarekkeet (enclaves). Opinnäytteessä Helsingin omaehtoisen kulttuurikentän nähdään muodostuvan verkottuneista toimijoista—skene-verkostosta, joka on rakentunut musiikin tekemisen, esittämisen ja tapahtumajärjestämisen ympärille. Vaihtoehtoiset kulttuuritilat ovat fyysisiä rakenteita, jotka toimivat skenen sosiaalisina solmupisteinä.</p> <p>Opinnäytteen aineisto on kerätty verkkopohjaisella kyselyllä, jossa yhdistyy muistitietotutkimus ja kvalitatiivinen kyselymetodi. Aineiston keräyksen järjesti Helsingin kaupungin museo ja Musiikkiarkisto syksyllä 2019. Tämän tutkimuksen tarpeisiin on valittu 70 vastausta. Aineistoa käsitellään kvalitatiivisen tutkimuksen epistemologisten silmälasien läpi ja siinä nähdään olevan sekä positivistisia että konstruktivistisia ulottuvuuksia. Aineisto on pääosin käsitelty kvalitatiivisen sisällön analyysin (<i>qualitative content analysis, QCA</i>) keinoin, mutta myös paikkatietoanalyyysiä (<i>geographic information system, GIS</i>) on hyödynnetty.</p> <p>Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on eksplikoida yleisesti tunnistettu, mutta pääosin tuntematon kulttuurinen ilmiö ja tuoda omaehtoisten skenejen osallistujien ääni esiin. Tutkimuksessa mukana olleet 34 tilaa ovat kaikki toimineet elävän musiikin keikkapaikkoina ja tarjonneet alustan liudalle erilaisia kulttuurisia, poliittisia ja sosiaalisia toimia, joista valtaosan voidaan nähdä kuuluvan osaksi omaehtoisen kulttuurin kenttää. Tilat on saatu haltuun vuokraamalla, valtaamalla ja lupaa kysymällä. Kahdessa tapauksessa tilan pyörittäjä on myös sen omistaja. Maantieteellisesti tilat sijoittuvat pääosin Helsingin kantakaupungin erilaisille reuna-alueille, mutta harvalukuisina tiloja on esiintynyt myös muissa kaupunginosissa—silloinkin reunoilla. Yhteistä suurimmalle osalle tiloista on lyhytikäisyys—korkeintaan viisi vuotta samassa paikassa, "välttämättömyyden estetiikka" (<i>"aesthetics of necessity"</i>), joka juontuu tilojen olemattomaan tai niukkaan rahoitukseen sekä alakulttuuriseen symboliikkaan ja taiteeseen. Tilojen toimintaa ohjaa toimintaperiaatteet, joiden pyrkimys on luoda kannustava ja mukaan ottava (<i>inclusive</i>) henki. Tilat ja niiden käyttäjät ovat kohdanneet erilaisia haasteita, vastoinkäymisiä ja ongelmia, jotka juontuvat rahoitukseen; tilojen huonoon tai vajavaiseen kuntoon ja kalustoon; muihin kansalaisiin, poliisiin ja Helsingin kaupunkiin; sekä osaan skene-osallistujista. Helsingin kaupungin rooli nousee esiin aineistosta ristiriitaisena. Vastaajien kokemusten mukaan Helsingin kaupungilla ei ole yhtenäistä politiikkaa koskien tyhjiä kaupunkitiloja eikä omaehtoista kulttuuria tunnusteta. Skeneen osallistujille vaihtoehtoiset kulttuuritilat toimivat alustana, jossa esittää ja vaalia—usein "marginaalista"—musiikkia ja alakulttuuria. Osalla osallistujista toiminnan taustalla on erilaisia—usein poliittisesti vasemmalla kallellaan olevia—poliittisia ja yhteiskunnallisia ihanteita.</p> <p>Omaehtoisen kulttuurin toimet ovat luonteeltaan yhteisöllisyyttä lisääviä. Kulttuuritiloissa skene-osallistujat osallistuvat kulttuuriseen ja sosiaaliseen vaikutteiden vaihtoon, joka johtaa joskus uusien skenejen, toimijaryhmien ja ilmaismuotojen syntymiseen. Uudet sosiaaliset ryhmät saattavat siirtää toimintansa uusiin tiloihin, jolloin omaehtoinen kulttuuri leviää kaupungin sisällä. Osalle osallistujista omaehtoiseen kulttuuriin ensimmäistä kertaa osallistuminen muodostui merkitykselliseksi elämän tapahtumaksi, jolloin henkilöt kokivat löytäneensä samaistuttavan ryhmän. Osa vastaajista kuvasi käyneensä läpi "DIY-vaiheen" (<i>"DIY phase"</i>), joka on vuosia kestänyt vaihe nuoruudessa, jolloin henkilön elämän tavoitteet ja identiteetti olivat kokonaisvaltaisesti sidottu omaehtoiseen kulttuuriin. Kokemus skeneen kuulumisen merkityksellisyydestä jatkuu myöhempään elämään—mukaan lukien henkilöt, joiden osallistuminen omaehtoiseen kulttuuriin loppuu. Toisille skenessä opitut tiedot ja taidot ovat myös luoneet pohjan ammattimaiselle uralle kulttuurintuotannon parissa. Omaehtoiseen kulttuurin osallistumisen vähenemisen tai loppumisen syiksi kerrotaan toimijan keskipisteeseen olleen vaihtoehtoisen kulttuuritilan sulkeminen, haasteet toiminnassa sekä suuret elämää mullistaneet tapahtumat.</p> <p>Keskustelu-osiossa työ ehdottaa kaupunkisuunnittelijoiden ja kulttuuripolitiikan työkalupakkiin "omaehtoisten saarekkeiden" tai "kaupunkikulttuurin kehtojen" (urban DIY enclave) käsitettä. Saarekkeet eroavat yleisestä kaupunkitilasta fyysisesti rähjäisen kuntosaa, poliittisten viestien ja alakulttuurin symbolien kautta. Sosiaalisesti ne ovat rakentuneet edistämään ja vaalimaan omaehtoista kulttuuria sekä siihen liittyvää luovaa elämäntyyliä. Saarekkeiden käsitettä ehdotetaan välineeksi, jolla Helsinki ja muut suuret kaupungit voivat tiedostaa omaehtoisen kulttuurin olemassaolon ja tilatarpeen sekä valjastaa skene-osallistujien toiminnan osaksi kaupunkien rakentumista.</p>		
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## 1 Introduction

This thesis is not a commissioned work. The thesis got its start in an exhibition project about the ‘informal and uncommercial places’ of Helsinki’s ‘DIY’ (‘do-it-yourself’) music scenes. The exhibition is a joint project between Helsinki City Museum and Music Archive Finland slated to open in the museum in November 2020 (for details see chapter 6.1). Because music is, and has been, performed in diverse spaces in Helsinki during the first two decades of the 21st century, one of the problems our workgroup countered was what to call the spaces. The spaces are not solely ‘buildings,’ and not always even built infrastructure. Parks, streets, beaches, parking lots, forests, wastelands, and even abandoned war bunkers have all hosted DIY music events. From a Lefebvrian perspective (Lefebvre 1991 [1974]) on the production space, using solely ‘space’ neglects the material and social influence—the material influence and social meanings—of the scene participants. On the other hand, to be called ‘places,’ some of the ‘*places*,’ have been too short-lived and temporal in their existence—lasting literally only for hours. On the contrary, others are several decades old and could be called institutions of the ‘DIY culture infrastructure’ (Bennett & Guerra 2018; see chapter 4.1.4 for more on DIY and independent culture production).

Writing on top of Lefevre’s ideas and from the perspective of construction professions—architecture, urban planning, and design—, Panu Lehtovuori (2012) has drawn attention to the ‘invisible’—in other words, unacknowledged—urban spaces. According to Lehtovuori, in a time where the urban landscape is rapidly evolving, only recently have discussions in the three fields mentioned earlier began recognizing the importance of urban space’s informal and marginal use. He states that ‘to operate, the field of planning, design, and architecture must [one] conceptualize urban space in a manner appropriate to its goals.’ Lehtovuori concludes by conceptualizing the paradigm of ‘experiential urbanism.’ The paradigm—among other characteristics—aims to consider urban space as a holistic entity where materiality, connectivity, and meaningfulness are in a reciprocal and inseparable relationship with each other. Experiential urbanism considers all urban space as an *oeuvre*, a whole, in which all urban space from graffiti to large-scale projects are part of the same dynamic. Space, place, and use are all interconnected layers of the same socio-spatial process, of which we conceptualize ingrained divisions ‘towards a professional practice which proactively supports new and surprising urban futures.’ (Lehtovuori 2012, 71–72, 84.)

In the exhibition's name, the conceptual problematization was solved with the (Finnish) header 'Tiloissa' that translates as 'in spaces.' It has a dual meaning: it refers both to the built infrastructure and the 'headspace' of DIY participation—the enjoyment and thrill of any music event. However, this thesis goes further by suggesting in the discussion section (chapter 8.2) that DIY music creates its own 'urban DIY enclaves' in the city. In urbanism, the concept of 'enclave' is rooted in 'ethnic enclaves'—residential and commercial areas populated by particular ethnic minorities. However, the concept has since evolved to refer to physically and socially defined areas. Concisely put, enclaves are geographical locations, with an inhabiting community that shares a distinguishable lifestyle and often institutions that support the community's differentiation. (Abrahamson 2020, 140, 143–144; see also chapter 4.2.2.) Of course, the urban DIY enclaves of this thesis differ from dwelling areas. DIY enclaves spread around the city, and—most—of them are not for living purposes. However, they are also socio-physical entities demarcated from the city and for a specific community. In this case, the communities revolve around the production and consumption of popular music and related activities, sociability, and identity construction.

In their study on night-time spaces in Newcastle upon Tyne (UK), which is commonly known just as Newcastle, Paul Chatterton and Robert Hollands (2002) discuss 'urban playscapes' where nightlife and other pleasure consumption takes place. The authors define 'alternative cultural spaces' against two other types of playscapes—'mainstream' and 'residual.' The alternative cultural spaces offer niche entertainment, are self-regulated, blur the line between consumer and producer, might include alternative or resistant tendencies, and are bound to participants' identities. They are owner-operated bars, clubs, and music venues, but also squats, street parties, and other such ventures. (Chatterton & Hollands 2002, 93, 99–100; Chatterton & Hollands 2003.) In the case of this thesis, the primary data restricts under examination only a partition of alternative cultural spaces. Helsinki City Museum and Music Archive Finland organized a collection solely on 'informal and uncommercial' (for a detailed description of the data collection, see chapter 6). To understand the rare nature of the spaces under study in this thesis, we need to consider the fact that from all of the playscapes, Chatterton and Hollands found that only 1% represent the alternative kind. (Chatterton & Hollands 2002, 111). In their study, the previous figure also includes commercial and formal spaces, which the data's nature excludes from this study. Therefore, it is fair to state that the spaces under scrutiny are in the margins of the margins—'*alternative* alternative cultural spaces', if you will.

The study has two main research questions: (i) What are the informal and uncommercial alternative cultural spaces in Helsinki in the 21st century? (ii) What are the spaces' role and meaning for the music scenes and their participants? Of course, various additional and detailed questions are posed, which can be found in chapter 3. The thesis answers the questions with a data-based qualitative approach. The methodology combines traits from three different but overlapping traditions: oral history, qualitative survey research, and qualitative content analysis (QCA), which are supplemented by tacit knowledge collected while participating in scenes. The production of the data and its interpretation follows the customs of oral history and makes use of the advantages (and disadvantages) of qualitative online surveying. The data has been systematically dismantled and re-organized—coded—for the analysis with QCA. In addition to these, also geographical information system mapping (GIS) is used to present the spatial division of the spaces. The study's methodological commitments—including the methods' benefits and limitations—have been explicated in chapter 5.

In the upcoming chapter 2, the analysis is given social, historical and scholarly context by discussing international research on DIY, cultural spaces, scenes and scene participants (chapter 2.1), the cultural spaces of Helsinki (chapter 2.2) and lastly (chapter 2.3) a brief history of Helsinki's urban culture is presented. The study's two theoretical roots are discussed in chapter 4. First, (a) 'subculture' research tradition including its recent 'post-subcultural' configurations where sociality that revolves around cultural practices is divided into a social component—scene—and a symbolic and a cultural component—subculture. Second, (b) relevant theoretical strands from 'urbanism' are discussed—namely, 'night-time economy' with research on alternative cultural spaces and 'enclave urbanism.' The analysis itself is divided into two chapters 7.1 and 7.2, which follow the two central research questions of the study (i and ii in the above paragraph). The chapters are divided into further subchapters that follow the detailing research questions. For clarity, these subchapters include sub-headers under which specific aspects of the theme under scrutiny are discussed. The study ends with a concluding chapter 8. The chapter is divided in four subchapters 8.1–8.4 where the results of the study are summarized and discussed with existing research; the idea of 'DIY enclaves' expanded upon and suggestions on policy made; the restrictions of the methods and data acknowledged; and finally some future points of research presented.

## 2 Previous Research and Socio-Historical Context

### 2.1 International Research on DIY, Scenes and Scene Participants

Often DIY is used as an ‘umbrella concept’ under which is discussed different ‘grassroots’ efforts, independent culture initiatives, and other practitioner-led ventures. The traditional meaning of DIY refers to different kinds of tinkering and home improvement carried out by amateurs and other non-qualified personnel (Talen 2015). Fueled with the philosophy of ‘right to the city’ (Lefebvre 1996 [1968]; Harvey 2012), the DIY mindset has sparked a social movement in global cities across the planet. Among other names, coined as ‘DIY urbanism,’ the movement aims to evaluate how cities are constructed. It highlights consensus, public safety, equity, efficiency, and coordination of urban systems, but—following the principles mentioned above—also aims to build cities’ bottom-up’ by collective effort and direct actions. Examples of DIY urbanism are park benches, traffic signs, or graffiti walls installed by citizens without official permits. (Finn 2014.)

However, in the core of this thesis is not the implementation of amateur design interventions in the public space, but what is known as ‘DIY culture’—creative practitioners that aspire for artistic, but also financial, freedom by creating self-sufficient structures for self-expression and communal activities. However, some significant overlap with DIY urbanism exists as DIY culture participants—among other things—also acquire and create facilities that foster DIY music and other artistic, and bottom-up, aspirations. (Lowndes 2016; for details on the conceptualization see chapter 4.1.4.) While DIY itself has been researched only scantily, a large body of scholarly work is dedicated to the research of cultural production networks—scenes—in which the DIY practitioners are also ingrained in. Furthermore, some studies concentrate on the result of the practitioners’ activities—including different kinds of cultural spaces for music events and production.

In their seminal empirical studies on music scenes, Ruth Finnegan (2007 [1989]), Sara Cohen (1991), and Barry Shank (1994) look at the social, cultural, and economic contexts in which the musicians produce and perform their music. In short, their research’s respective towns and cities—Milton Keynes (UK), Liverpool (UK), and Austin (US)—including their economic, urban, social, historical, and national context. They discuss the cruciality of bars, night clubs and other venues for the scene to use as performance spaces. While not frequent in the studies mentioned above, in addition to the ‘official’ and ‘commercial’ venues, the scenes also used—akin to this study’s alternative cultural spaces—warehouses, parks, squats, and residential houses rented for living and performing ‘house shows.’



Giacomo Bottà (2009) highlights how in Manchester (UK) as the scene came together to form the ‘Madchester’ sound in the late 1980s. For the music to thrive, essential was the City’s industrial past, which meant vacant and under-used old warehouses and factories, which became sites of illegal rave parties and other music events. The City also included other spaces that were crucial for the scene. In the early 1980s, the City’s sound came together in a club called The Hacienda, which hosted acts such as New Order, The Smiths, and pioneering acid house artists. Above all, the Northern Quarter part of the City was important. Largely abandoned in the 1970s, the area drew in musicians and music entrepreneurs due to its low rents and a vast amount of vacant urban space. Consequentially, studios, rehearsal rooms, record shops, and small alternative stores emerged in the area. Ken Spring (2004) has studied the local scene of a relatively small satellite city of Detroit (Michigan, USA) named ‘Ruston,’ where a rave scene bloomed and ultimately wilted between 1987–1996. In Ruston, the scene revolved around ‘The Strip,’ which was a run-down area of ‘cheap apartments, along with abandoned buildings, vacant stores, a few small, locally-owned stores, and three biker bars’ and geographically barely connected to the rest of the city.’ (Spring 2004, 52.)

Spring’s research reflects well how diverse and broad personnel create and maintain DIY music. In Ruston, the pseudonym Bill was a key figure behind the scene. Bill was a locally known and trusted individual who had a history in organizing alternative rock shows. When he made the transition into electronic dance music (EDM), organizing raves, and running his venues, he was in an advantageous position due to his local fame. Due to his connections to the authorities, he was able to purchase old property and turn it into live music venues. When Bill opened his first bar in 1989, Ruston had a handful of party kids who were growing up and became the emerging scene’s DJs, promoters, technicians, bartenders, and other venue personnel. The growing scene then pulled in more creative practitioners and audiences from the surrounding area—including Detroit—and attracted the ‘underbelly’ of any party scene—drug dealers—who worked in a mutual arrangement with the club promoters. However, Spring argues that what ultimately allowed the scene to flourish was the authorities. In a post-industrial city that struggled with its economy, the local politicians were exceptionally favorable for new creative businesses to take over The Strip. This policy of ‘turning a blind eye’ included local politicians, city officials, fire marshals, and police who worked in co-operation with Bill—for example, by pre-emptively closing profitless evenings, tipping Bill on raids and liquor-control agent’s checks beforehand and causing harm for Bill’s competitors. The downfall of the scene began when

some of the DJs and artists had ‘outgrown’ the scene. In other words, they were offered more lucrative deals elsewhere, but also some of the local authorities turned on Bill and his hazy schematics. (Spring 2004.)

Pepper G. Glass’ (2012) has researched one scene space, ‘The Pirate House’, which was located in an unidentified college town in the USA. He argues that the scene participants behind a cultural space establish, manage and transform the space, and participation in the space, in turn, shapes the identities of the participants. In this case, the house was a rented four-room family building rented by a group of punks to be lived in and used for music events. The space was self-purposefully sought from the ‘student ghetto’—an urban area where noise from the house would be less of a problem. The space was transformed into a punk house by decorating it with provocative and political punk aesthetics. These were used to communicate the space’s subcultural alignment to other punks and to differentiate the building from its surroundings. The aesthetics also served a practical function as information about events in the space was scant and spread only through flyers, website postings, and ‘word of mouth.’ The space itself was divided into private, parochial, and public space. The parochial space was meant for punk shows and regulated with a policy influenced by punk’s egalitarian ideology. ‘Open’ and ‘free’ on the level of discourse and with no formal authority announced. Nevertheless, among the dwellers existed a system where on event nights, someone was appointed to watch over the space—a strategy that sporadically also failed. The watchdog’s role was both to safeguard the properties, but also keep the event in check to avoid noise complaints and police interference. (Glass 2012, 702–708.)

Glass interprets that the space’s management was salient for the practitioners’ punk identity. The house hosted and accommodated bands from the local and national punk scene. Gradually the inhabitants became to be recognized for their participation in the house. Eventually, this also strengthened their punk identity. The inhabitants also shared social divisions: who was allowed to the house, who was considered to be an insider, and—ultimately—to be ‘punk.’ Being an acknowledged resident also meant more power in defining a person’s punk identity. (Glass 2012, 708–712.) In a study of a DIY scene’s space in Long Island, Kenneth R. Culton and Ben Holtzman (2010) have drawn attention to how unclear the meaning of alternative cultural spaces is for their participants, and how complex and multifaceted the seemingly shared collective identity is. In their study, a schism over the possibility of signing a major record deal contract brought out two opposite camps. For the majority, the space represented an isolated alternative to the capitalistic society (the writers

also note that some of the participants acknowledged that the space did not make an impact outside of the space). However, for others, the space meaning was solely a place for creation, self-expression, and bonding over DIY activities without commitment to subcultural values or the scene's goals. (Culton & Holtzman 2010, 280–281.)

Culton and Holtzman's research highlights an important aspect of DIY practice—a debate over a dichotomy between DIY and some other form of cultural practices—the former often conceptualized as 'dominant,' 'hegemonic,' 'mainstream' or 'general' culture. Reflecting on the issue, Evangelos Chrysagis (2019) argues that in light of cultural policy, DIY gets its value from an emphasis on doing things differently. He points out that DIY music production's values do not necessarily include a sharp distinction between commercial and non-commercial practices. DIY's values lie more in the practitioners' control over the production and representation of their artistic output. However, he stretches that even this 'independence' is relative—it is realized in other people's eyes, it is a socially granted category. (Chrysagis 2019, 12–13; see also Lowndes 2016 and chapter 4.1.4.)

Before continuing to research conducted on Helsinki, an essential factor needs to be addressed. Research presented above has shown the importance of DIY for the practitioners' identities. Now that the earliest participants of (post-World War II) youth culture are reaching retirement age, scholars have pointed out the relationship between DIY participation, aging, and life formation. (See for example Hodkinson 2011.) As a consequence, several studies have shown how learning skills, knowledge, and agency by being put 'on the spot' is also reflected in some participants later career choices. This aspect of scene participation has been addressed by Andy Bennett (2018) who has suggested the concept of 'DIY careers,' which he formulates as '[—] armed with skills and competencies learned as young practitioners in music and associated cultural scenes, young people are increasingly drawing on these resources in an attempt to forge alternative career paths [—].' (Bennett 2018, 134.) His theoretical claim has been backed up by several empirical studies that have highlighted the 'educational' byproduct of DIY and scene participation.

Ross Haenfler (2018) discusses how straightedge participants all over the world have learned practical skills in their immersion to scene life. Consequently, they have formed careers as musicians, producers, writers, promoters, et cetera who apply their skills in creative professionals in high-standard contexts. His informants credit the scene to have taught them skills such as management, marketing, and the act of practicing itself, and entrepreneurial dispositions such as self-reliance, work ethic, adaptability and tolerance for risk. Furthermore, some of his informants highlight how their career choices were directly

influenced by straightedge's values or indirectly through choosing occupations that allowed flexible hours to continue scene participation – for example, by touring. (Haenfler 2018.) It should also be noted that Haenfler's research highlights scene participation's salience for individual lives—even in cases where participation has come to an end. In Paula Guerra's (2017) research on DIY practitioners in Portugal, half of her—over 200—interviewees reported to have created several work-related trajectories from their DIY roles. (Guerra 2017, 287–292.) To give a fictional example, based on Guerra's observations, a person might have three 'careers' as a musician, audio engineer, and bartender. All of them are rooted in the individual's scene participant, and together they form the person's livelihood. Furthermore, her interviewees reported that lifestyle and aesthetic choices that root to the DIY scene continued to be salient in the participants' lives. (Guerra 2017, 293–295; for a similar result on multi-tasking and multi-jobbing in the music industry based on scene participation see Tarassi 2018.)

## 2.2 Helsinki's Cultural Spaces Under the Scholarly Magnifying Glass

Helsinki DIY music scenes or their spaces have not been previously under wide-ranging scrutiny. However, in the Finnish urban studies, cultural spaces have been discussed from several angles. Pasi Mäenpää & Maija Faehnle (2017) have coined the concept of the 'fourth sector' under which DIY scenes fall under. The fourth sector comes together through informal peer-to-peer networks that manifest both off and online—groups and individuals without established intermediates in between. By definition, the fourth sector is outside of the 'traditional three' of government, commerce, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Fourth sector activities are direct, independent and self-organized initiatives aimed at the practitioners' community and social surroundings. They are proactive and productive against unambiguously political, or reactive, by their nature; in other words, the activities stem from the practitioners' social and material desires and needs—and not as much from their opposition to political or social order. The activities are characterized by participative consumption and sharing economy that redefines the citizens' role. Often these activities create new forms of local-level economic activity and new forms of livelihood. The activities of the fourth sector may also lead to the formation of new communities in cities. Slow but steady, the fourth sector changes urban life. The writers predict the rise of fourth sector activities—and that urban planning needs to take the activities properly into consideration—in the near future. (Mäenpää & Faehnle 2017, 7–8.) It should be noted that

this interest to the fourth sector does not mean that the social and cultural spaces of the ‘third sector,’ in other words, NGOs, would be out of the scope of this study. (See for example Laitinen & Norvasuo 2014, 7–8 and Kopomaa 2013, 2.) The DIY scenes make use of spaces by all of the four sectors—also creating its own.

Hella Hernberg (2014) has studied empty urban space in Helsinki and its temporal use in a project for the Ministry of Environment. According to her, there were over one million square meters of floor space empty in Helsinki in 2013. Hernberg aimed to find solutions for their use. The reasoning is simple: Using the spaces is an efficient use of resources. This is true from three viewpoints: (i) with longer use, the amount of resources a building’s construction demands is spread to a more extended timeframe—including the ‘environmental cost’ of any building—, (ii) buildings stay in better shape when they are being used and maintained, and (iii) the temporal use allows for a variety of activities to blossom—such as young enterprises, culture and youth work. (Hernberg 2014, 1, 25–28.) Partially on top of Hernberg’s notions of the significant amount of vacant urban space in Helsinki, Rami Ratvio and his eight co-authors (2019) have looked into the pedagogy of temporal use of urban space in their manual for creating a project course where students socially, economically and culturally transform empty spaces into productive ones. (Ratvio et al. 2019.)

The cultural spaces of Helsinki have been under scrutiny in the book *Kaupunkilaisten kulttuurikeskus* (2005) edited by Satu Silvanto, Maaria Linko, Vesa Keskinen and Timo Cantell. The book concentrates on three regional spaces of Helsinki—Stoa in eastern Helsinki and Kanneltalo and Malmitalo in northern Helsinki. The writers highlight that the spaces’ existence roots in political and societal discussions about the democratization of culture. Consequently, the spaces explicitly aspire for openness, including all citizens, but also all forms of culture as extensively as possible. (Silvanto, Linko, Keskinen & Cantell 2005.) In the book in her article, Silvanto (2005) highlights how cultural spaces come to existence from the public administration’s initiative, but also from grass-root level activities. She also states that both forms are ‘significant strategic tools for regional cultural life,’ they have positive impacts on citizens’ lives, and are a source of identity. (Silvanto 2005, 175.) In a conference paper, Bottà (2006) has drawn attention to such Helsinkian spaces as Kaapelitehdas, Nosturi, Tavastia, and Vanha ylioppilastalo. Bottà’s analysis highlights how these spaces have roots in either, or both, the grassroots activity of the various culture scenes, or student’s initiatives. (Bottà 2006, 6–9.)

Hernberg and Ramia Mazé (2017) have expanded on Hernberg (2014) about the practicalities on how cities can mediate temporary use. They concentrate on Kalasatama and Kera regions in Helsinki and Espoo. In both case studies, the temporal use, and the temporal users, became ‘urban agents’ who pulled in more practitioners and interest of future long-term users. They highlight how temporal use is a negotiation—often including agonistic tendencies—between a variety of stakeholders: municipal departments, public authorities, constructors, both private and public owners of the buildings and sites, the temporal practitioners, and the mediators between the stakeholders. Also, non-human actors—regulations and policies—complicate temporal use. (Hernberg & Mazé 2017.) Lehtovuori (2012) focuses on his ‘micro case’ to Makasiinit—a former railway building located in the center of Helsinki that was taken over by artistic and cultural practitioners. What started in 1987 as very small-scale, subcultural and temporal, grew initially to one of the most popular event venues of the city with a semi-permanent program and an estimated 400 000 visitors in its peak year. However, throughout its lifetime, the space was at odds with the official city planners who had—literally a century-long list of—ideas for the space’s location, but not one included preserving Makasiinit. (Lehtovuori 2012, 78.) Today in the immediate proximity of the buildings former location lies the library Oodi and the venue Musiikkitalo.

Maroš Krivý (2013) writes about how the cultural area of Suvilahti in Helsinki. The area consists of buildings of former gas and electricity plants constructed between 1909–1971, but mainly in the beginning of the 20th century. After energy and heat production had ceased in the area and the buildings stood vacant, Suvilahti was purposefully left ‘unplanned’ in order to give space for cultural practitioners to take over the space and spontaneous cultural initiatives to be born. The strategy was actively furthered by Helsinki’s urban planners, but also the mayor Jussi Pajunen. In 2007, a report was published that finalized the decision to dedicate the area for cultural purposes. According to Krivý, influenced by the positive example set by Kaapelitehdas that grew from bottoms-up-initiatives to a cultural institution of Helsinki, an exceptional decision was made to abstain from too rigid planning of how the spaces in the area would be used—infrastructure et cetera was naturally still planned. As a result, eleven historic buildings—including over 12 500 square meters of floor space and two former gas tanks and an electric power plant—have gained a new life, and a vivid cultural district has been born in Helsinki. Furthermore, the Suvilahti is seen to uplift the broader Kalasatama region by providing culture in the upcoming residential area. (Krivý 2013.)

Keskinen and Mika Nieminen (2010) have looked into music venues of Helsinki in October 2009 with data gathered from the event bulletins of Helsingin Sanomat. According to their division, music is hosted in clubs and restaurants (73,6%), concert venues (6,8%), churches (6,7%), educational institutes (4,2%; mainly conservatoires), culture centers (2,3%), youth clubs (1,1%), galleries (0,9%), libraries (0,6%) and ‘other’ (3,9%; for example record stores, ice rinks and service centres). (Keskinen & Nieminen 2010, 46.) It is fair to assume that their data mostly do not consider the cultural spaces of this study since the Helsingin Sanomat bulletins require the event organizers to contact the paper, and the paper further edits what is included on the bulletin. Whatever the truth, and the exact content of ‘other category,’ it is easy to see declare that the spaces of this study are truly ‘marginal.’ However, cultural spaces more akin to this study have been under some scrutiny.

Vesa Peipinen (2012)—the former director of the NGO—has written the history of Oranssi in his final year’s project for a university of applied sciences. According to Peipinen, the organization began with a spontaneous squatting of a building in Meilahti in the spring of 1991. The space was vacated and demolished in 1993, and its practitioners found a new space in Katajanokka. The location became a popular and celebrated space for, especially, live music events. By 2000, the sporadic funding of Oranssi began to stabilize, and the organization began to recruit trainees. In 2003, the organization was forced to move out of Katajanokka to two locations—a café in Pengerkatu and occasional live events in the Harju youth house. However, already during the same year, Oranssi rented a space from Herttoniemi. According to one estimate, the space hosted 20 299 visitors, and 42 music events, 12 youth groups with regular meetups, five amateur theater groups, seven theater premiers, 119 rehearses and a cafeteria on 160 days in 2006. From Herttoniemi, Oranssi moved to Suvilahti in 2007. (Peipinen 2012, 48–52.) In Suvilahti, Oranssi has been located in several spaces.

Venla Helenius (2018) writes about the hospitality of cultural spaces from the perspective of the organizing group in her thesis. Under her scrutiny is Asematila, a culture and art space located in Haaga, Helsinki. According to her, Asematila is part of self-organized culture that is governed under the rhetoric of play and openness. She connects the space to discussions of ‘new institutionalism’ and sees the space to represent institutional critique by its mere existence and operation model that emphasizes experimentation, openness, and challenges hierarchy. The hospitality comes in through these characteristics—the space invites all guests and users unconditionally. (Helenius 2018, 1–3.) The same space is the theme of my own (2019) non-peer reviewed publication that focuses on the

organizational groups social capital derived from running the space. Based on interview data, I concluded that participation increases the organizers' social capital, which was reflected in both: (i) organizers' social position in the wider Helsinki 'art world' (Becker 1982) and (ii) the Helsinki art world overall by ingraining the space's practitioners to more extensive art networks. (Hänninen 2019.)

Leo Stranius and Mikko Salasuo (2008) have edited a book on Finnish squatting. According to Elina Mikola's (2008) article in the book, there has existed a squatting tradition from the late 1970s onwards in Helsinki. (Mikola 2008, 17–19.) However, it should be noted that this excludes one of the most famous—if not the most famous—squat in Finland. 'Vanhan valtaus' was the squatting of Vanha ylioppilastalo, a building owned by the University of Helsinki, by students in 1968. However, the squatting tradition discussed previously differentiates from the 1960s. The students aimed to draw attention to the university's politics, which they considered unjust. (Jegorow 2019.) However, their goals differed drastically from later squatters who—according to Mikola—have aimed to acquire urban space for housing and cultural and political initiatives. (Mikola 2008, 17–19.) Nevertheless, in the 1960s, there existed also groups whose ambition was the foundation of a countercultural space—a venture that succeeded in brief when they rented the 'KOP house' (a building owned by Kansallis-Osake-Pankki) in 1968. The space hosted music events and film screenings, several artists, musicians, and even a light technician. Furthermore, a few persons lived in the space. (Lindfors 2019.)

Peipinen (2018)—once a squatter himself—has divided Helsinki's squatters in two 'waves' in his master thesis. Peipinen's division also begins from the late 1970s and the squat of Lepakkoluola. (Peipinen 2018.) Lepakkoluola's history has been written by Miska Rantanen (2000). After its initial squatting, 'Lepakko' became a cultural space that hosted new and transgressive forms of music and other culture in its venue, but also in its 40 rehearsal spaces, demo studio, cafeteria, two printing presses, photo lab and several handicrafts workshops from the early 1980s onward. (Rantanen 2000, 134.) According to Peipinen, the second wave began when a youth group squatted three abandoned buildings on Intiäntätiä on the 10th of January 1990. The wave gained its momentum during the years 1990–1994 when the recession shattered youth's life prospects. For this wave, DIY was an inseparable part of their practice. (Peipinen 2018, 11, 46–48.) The newest, 'third wave' of squatters has been written by Anton Monti and Pontus Purokuru (2018). Their book's theme is 'autonomous movements' in Finland. They do not associate the movement to any particular squat but stretch movements' diligence and number of squats in the 2000s.



According to the writers, the movements have been influenced by—especially Italian—autonomous social centers that are sovereign and self-governed. (Monti & Purokuru 2018.) Eeva Berglund and Peipinen (2018) have written about the City of Helsinki’s relationship with squatters during the last four decades. They highlight Helsinki as an ‘activist friendly’ city but conclude that squatting remains unacceptable—and has resulted in interruptions from city officials and even violent interventions by the police. (Berglund & Peipinen 2018, 38–40.) Their thesis is backed up by the several descriptions of straightforward police violence in Monti’s and Purokuru’s book. (Monti & Purokuru 2018.)

### 2.3 A Brief History of Urban Culture in Helsinki

Finland began an intensive modernization and urbanization process during the 1960s. In the decade, and the following 1970s, a structural change took place, and Finland went from an agrarian led economy to a service society—passing the typical intermediate stage of a large industrial sector. During the same decades, tens of thousands of inhabitants moved from the countryside to live in towns and cities. (Karisto, Takala & Haapola 1988, 43–44.) According to Mäenpää’s (2005) doctoral dissertation, the migration directed to Southern Finland, and especially Helsinki. A process started that gradually revolutionized leisure in the urban context. Mäenpää goes as far as to state that this resulted in a cultural rupture and the ‘second wave’ of urbanization in Finland. The second wave’s characteristics are transgressive forms of popular and urban culture, including new media, cultural spaces, and a new way of thinking—an ‘urban’ way of thinking—, associated aesthetics and lifestyle. Mäenpää sees Helsinki as the brewing ground of the second wave. As a social consequence of the wave, the Helsinkian youth began to spend more time in the city center. (Mäenpää 2005, 11–15.)

According to journalists and first-hand experiencers, Antti Isokangas, Kaappo Karvala, and Markus von Reiche (2000), it was during the 1980s when Helsinki’s urban culture revolutionized. Reflecting a nationwide rise in living standards and political, economic, and cultural opening, new magazines, restaurants and radio stations popped up, which together meant a new way of urban living. Mentally and culturally, Finland was breaking with its agrarian traditions, and the modes of thinking that reflect DIY began to emerge. The writers credit the change to pop and rock culture, which had been gaining more and more popularity in the city. However, still at the end of the decade, the ‘nightcrawlers’

or ‘clubbers’ were such a small group that new and subcultural music was able to secure only weekday evenings for their clubs. (Isokangas, Karvala & von Reiche 2000, 5–10.)

According to the introduction to *Helsingin yö* (1995)—edited by Jaana Lähtenmaa and Laura Mäkelä—, by the mid-1990s night-time culture in Helsinki was becoming increasingly diverse, vivid and difficult to regulate and control ‘from the above.’ Consumption, leisure, and identity are seen to increase in meaning, which also forces to reconsider marginals’ position. (Schulman 1995, 6.) According to Mäenpää, by the end of the decade, ‘urban play’ had become an essential element of life in Helsinki. This ‘play’ consists of youth cultural practices such as skateboarding, graffiti, BMX-cycling, capoeira dance and parkour, but also art, music events and festivals. Common for the activities is blurring of the line between consumer and producer. He stretches that urban life’s transformation goes hand in hand with the inhabitants’ transition from citizens to consumers who seek for experiences, but also express their identity by ‘performing themselves’ in public ‘playgrounds’—or ‘theater mundi’—of the city. (Mäenpää 2005, 11–19, 114, 282–313.) Sampo Ruoppila and Cantell (2000) summarize the period by stating that the 1980s was a time of grassroots upheaval, and in the following decade, the same phenomenon continued and expanded. (Ruoppila & Cantell 2000, 53.)

According to Ruoppila and Cantell, from 1980 to 1999, the number of bars and licensed restaurants in the Helsinki city center tripled. Furthermore, bars and restaurants also spread further from the inner city’s center to its northern and eastern surroundings. (Ruoppila & Cantell 2000, 37–38.) According to Bottà (2019), during the 2000s, Helsinki’s night-time functions have been moving—with intensifying pace—to Kallio and Vallila districts. Albeit its connection to broader gentrification processes—with implicit influence on growth of disparity and racial and economic segregation—the process has been mostly unprotested and ‘pioneers, evicted inhabitants and activists’ have gotten out of the way without resistance. (Bottà 2019; see also Mustonen 2010, 20 on how 68,6% of artists live and 77,3% work in centre, inner-city and eastern inner-city Helsinki.) According to a recent study by Keskinen (2015), the majority of Helsinki’s inhabitants prefer ‘collectively produced urban culture.’ Overall, 49–61% of his responders had attended a major free event, music concert, neighborhood event, dance or ballet performance, Restaurant day, Helsinki Book Fair, or the circus during the last year. (Keskinen 2015.)

The current Helsinki City Strategy 2017–2021 (2017) sees Helsinki as a platform for the best possible urban structures for living ‘good life.’ All Helsinkians—regardless of their age or disabilities—should have the ability to live an abundant and high-quality life.

Helsinki is framed as a mixture of rational functionality and unique roughness. The strategy emphasizes Helsinki as a city with a down-to-earth and pragmatic viewpoint that more and more sees itself as a creator of possibilities and chances. The strategy states that in Helsinki, it is easy to act for the benefit of others and that the city is built by its citizens—including urban culture, dialogue and participatory planning—who together make Helsinki what it is. Furthermore, Helsinki is seen as a city where all of the districts are lively, pleasant, and individual. This is achieved by developing both the infrastructure and the people, growing the inhabitants' influence over their surroundings and supporting the citizens and communities' regional initiatives and co-operations. (Helsinki 2017.)

### 3 The Research Questions

The thesis' attempt to reconceptualize alternative cultural spaces as urban DIY enclaves is inspired by Henri Lefebvre (1991 [1974]). His seminal philosophical work on the production of space begins from the notion that space is usually studied only from the perspective of one of two equally important notions: Either the (i) 'mental sphere'—theory—or (ii) 'the physical and social sphere'—in other words, empirically. Lefebvre's reasoning is that because representations of space influence the production of space, neglect of the theoretical side of space leaves us 'caged' within the existing discourse. (Lefebvre 1991 [1974], 3–9; Lohtaja 2015, 7; see also chapter 5 and Alasuutari 2011, 190–191 on qualitative research's role as explicating widely recognized but unknown cultural phenomenon.) The concept is expanded upon in subchapter 8.2 and the concept's implications on how cities and their cultural life builds-up, is discussed.

On the other—empiric—hand, the thesis' research questions concentrate on 'alternative cultural spaces' and are based on previous research (see chapter 2). The two primary research questions approach the spaces from two perspectives—the physical and the social. First, in chapter 7.1, it is asked (a) what are the characteristics of informal and uncommercial alternative cultural spaces of 21st century Helsinki. Both the shared and differentiating characteristics of the spaces are discussed. The analysis answers questions such as: What kind of spaces exist from a purely physical point of view, where and in what kind of terrain are they located in, how do they blend in their surrounding urban space, how have they been acquired and governed, how long is their lifespan and what kind of music and other DIY activities take place in them. What kind of operating principles guide their

everyday life and existence? What kind of ideals are connected to the spaces and DIY activities? What kind of problems and setbacks have the spaces, and their users, met?

In the second analysis chapter 7.2, under scrutiny is (b) the cultural spaces' role for the scene, and scene participation's meaning for the participant—their identity and later life. What is the space's role for scenes and subcultures? How do the spaces foster sociability and cultural exchange within the scenes? What is the spaces' role for the more extensive cultural fields of Helsinki? From the perspective of the individual is looked into questions such as: What is participation in alternative cultural spaces experienced to have meant for the participants in their youth, what has DIY's role been in it, and how is participation seen to influence later identity, world view and later life? How does participation in DIY activities accumulate skills and knowledge, and what does this mean for the participants? Lastly, it is looked into routes and reasons for declining or ending DIY participation.

#### 4 Theoretical Framework

The two central theoretical traditions of this work are subculture research and 'alternative cultural spaces' and 'enclaves,' which have been adopted from the paradigm of urbanism. From the subculture theory tradition, central for this study are 'scene,' a cultural conceptualization of 'subculture,' 'cultural spaces' and 'DIY,' and the interconnected 'DIY activities' and 'DIY lifestyle.' Overall, reproduction of 'DIY culture'—or any other aspect of the society—the thesis understands through Pierre Bourdieu's (1993) thoughts on the field of cultural production and specifically from the field of 'restricted production.' (Bourdieu 1993.) This discussion is expanded in subchapter 4.3, where also the key concepts of the thesis are defined and highlighted.

The thesis suggests the conceptual device of 'urban DIY enclaves' by combining ideas of subculture research to urbanism. As mentioned before, the thesis' interest in conceptualizing alternative cultures spaces is inspired by Lefebvre (1991 [1974]). However, his ideas on the 'production of space' are also to be found underlying the analysis. According to him, the production of space is always to be understood as a consequence of the reciprocal relationship between material and social relations, which both influence the other, and social relations that produce certain representations of space that further guide the production of the space. (Lefebvre 1991[1974], 9–11, 26–33.) In other words, in a capitalistic society, a city is produced in an interconnected process between capital and the people whose social organization is further influenced by their relationship to capital, and

the relationships among the human population influence what kind of spaces emerge in cities.

#### 4.1 The Subculture Research Tradition

##### *4.1.1 Subculture Research from the 1920s Onward—the Chicago School*

Among sociologists, subculture theory is commonly seen to root in the sociological and anthropological department of the University of Chicago in the 1920s. Often referred to as the ‘Chicago school,’ the institute’s researchers are pioneers of urban social studies of whom some were set to understand the geographically divided and ‘deviant’ collective lifestyles and social communities of early 20th century USA, especially in the Chicago area. (Blackman 2014, 497–498.) According to Cantell and Jenni Koskinen (2011), the school concentrated mainly on two themes: (i) mapping out cities in different activity zones —such as inner-city, industrial and residential areas—and (ii) the ethnographic research of different social groups in cities. The writers sum up the school’s aspirations in brief as ‘why cities are like they are and why city dwellers act like they do.’ (Cantell & Koskinen 2011, 166–167; translation of the quote by the undersigned.) For the very first time, the concept of subculture was used by the school’s researcher Alfred Kroeber who mapped California into ‘subculture areas.’ (Blackman 2014, 497–498.) A textbook written by the school’s researcher Vivien Palmer (1928) defined subcultures as ‘[s]ubcultural groups which display variations in the prevailing culture [--] certain basic differences in people’s mode of life which leads to clear-cut variations in their customs, attitudes and behavior patterns. (Palmer 1928, 73; see also Blackman 2014, 497.) Using the concept was researched ethnic minorities, but also distinct social groups such as ‘hobos’ (Anderson 1988 [1923]), ‘youth gangs’ (Thrasher 1927) and ‘taxi dancers’—(mainly) females who danced for money in halls dedicated for this practice (Cressey 1932).

While subculture theory’s development and spread—due to the popularity of their research in the subsequent years—can be credited to the Chicago school, Reza Barmaki (2016) has noted that the school’s scholars used a variety of different —not solely ‘subculture’—in their research on ‘deviant’ groups and communities.<sup>1</sup> Above all, Barmaki

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<sup>1</sup> Reza Barmaki’s (2016, 798) list includes: ‘[r]ules’ of conduct, a ‘code’, ‘peculiar canons and codes of conduct’, ‘criminal code’, ‘customs and traditions’, ‘social tradition’, ‘social values’, ‘social attitudes’, ‘social definition of the situation’, ‘morality’, ‘interpretation or definition’, ‘code of conduct’, ‘code’ of conduct, ‘moral code’, normative deviation from ‘the dominant code or the generally prevailing definition in a given culture’, ‘deviant values’ and ‘delinquency values’. (See also Howard S. Becker’s (1999) – a pupil of the ‘school’ – critique on sociologists’ tendency

emphasizes how the school challenged the way ‘deviancy’ was understood in academia by adopting the thinking of W.I. Thomas. Writing from an ‘ecological’ point of view, Thomas suggested that in human populations, deviance and criminality were produced through social organization and ‘adaption to the environment.’ At the time, the idea contested popular and widespread—mostly psychological and biological—explanatory models that derived from evolution theory and saw delinquency as hereditary and more or less pathological by nature. For Thomas, the formation of subcultures was a social response to collective needs. Similarly, Shane Blackman (2014) highlights that the Chicago school was influenced by Émile Durkheim’s concepts of ‘collective representations’ and ‘*anomie*’—the breakdown of social norms and traditions in vast metropolitan populations. Blackman suggests that from Durkheim, the Chicago school adopted a view that subcultures are born to counter anomie, and their shared symbols, rituals and meaning promote social cohesion and solidarity. (Blackman 2014, 497–498.)

#### *4.1.2 Subculture Research from the 1960s Onward—the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS)*

From Chicago School’s use, the concept spread to other fields—including criminology and psychology in the 1950s and developments of ‘labeling theory’ in the 1960s and 1970s. (Blackman 2014, 498–501.) During the latter mentioned decades, a redefinition of subcultures and ‘deviancy’ emerged from the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) that is still highly influential. In their seminal publication *Resistance Through Ritual* (2003 [1975]), deviance is seen—as by the Chicago school—as a result of the interplay between social communities and the socio-cultural context. However, for CCCS, deviance is not only distinction or differentiation from normative social groups but an act of ‘resistance.’ Influenced by neo-Marxists thinking and semiotic analysis, the school’s researchers suggest that working-class youth create subcultures with distinguishing styles and lifestyles as a ‘magical resolution’ to an inherent contradiction that derives from their subordinate class-position. The theory sees subcultures to emerge in between ‘hegemonic culture’ (middle-class culture) and ‘parent culture’ (working-class culture). The hegemony is maintained via education, media, and social attitudes and represents particular middle-class virtues. On the other hand, the parent culture’s upbringing and socialization guide the working-class youth to behavioral models—for example, by disdaining

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to overemphasize the coherence of Chicago school’s thinking and research practice that he sees only as loose everyday interaction of colleagues.)

schooling—that make the ‘desired’ middle-class lifestyle out of their reach. Therefore, the working-class’ youth create their own ‘alternative’ culture that rejects middle-class culture and its members. (Clarke, Hall, Jefferson & Roberts 2003 [1975], 9–74; see also, for example, Côte 2014, 26–29.)

The CCCS’s semiotic approach put the scholarly limelight in ‘spectacular’ subcultures such as skinheads, mods, rockers, punks, hippies, and bike gangs. It needs to be stretched that while the ‘subcultural solution’ is seen merely to solve working-classes problems’ imaginary,’ the scholars do argue that through the distinctive style and lifestyle, subcultural youth can ‘win space’ in the city. They do this, albeit temporally and only in specific contexts, by their mere presence—by ‘doing nothing’—in the neighborhood, or the ‘street-corner society.’ (Jefferson 2003 [1975] 81–86; Corrigan 2003 [1975]; 103–105, Clarke, Hall, Jefferson & Roberts 2003 [1975], 43–45; later scholars have also argued that subcultures also produce their own space through the participants’ agency—for examples see chapter 2.1.)

While commonly used today, the CCCS theory has faced widespread criticism. Among other things, for overconcentrating on white male working-class teenagers as the sole participants of subcultures—neglecting girls and the influence of gender, ethnicity, culture, locality, and nation in the formation of subcultures. For overgeneralizing from a narrow set of observations and semiotic interpretations a theory that is class-deterministic, overemphasizes consumption as a form of resistance—without empirical evidence or interest in the subculture participants own meanings for their symbols—, downplays subculture’s capability to alter the life of the participants—besides on an ‘imaginary’ level—and neglects the role of media in shaping youth’s identities. (Côte 2014, 150–151.) Albeit the condemnation, CCCS should be given credit for the emerge of a culture-oriented strand of subculture theory—in comparison to the concept’s usage in fields such as criminology and research on socially excluded youth—that concentrates on the interplay between taste, consumption, and sociability.

#### *4.1.3 Subculture Research from the 1980s Onward— the ‘Post-subcultural Turn’ and Division of Social Scenes and Cultural Subcultures*

Amidst the critique of CCCS’ approach to subcultures, a ‘post-subcultural’ framework began to emerge from the late-1980s onward. In short, the ‘post-subcultural turn’ can be summed up by stating that post-subculturalists amended the pitfalls of CCCS theory (listed above) and integrated post-modern societal theory in subculture research. Following the likes of Anthony Giddens, post-subcultural theory sees contemporary identities to be fluid, flexible, and individual. Furthermore, class is not seen to guide the cultural and social behavior of the youth and who are seen to freely choose and mix their music taste, style, and identity, from ‘the supermarket of style.’ (Muggleton & Weinzierl 2003.) However, in retrospect, these advances have not held their ground too well. The youth’s identities do not seem to be as ‘loose’ as framed by some of the post-subculturalists, and the economic and social constraints are still to be considered a determining factor of youth’s consumption and leisure practices. (Bennett 2015, 498–502.) However, the post-subculturalists put to rest the idea that all subcultures are inevitably, or unambiguously, ‘resistant’ or ‘deviant,’ in other words, unwanted and undesired. Furthermore, their critical consensus on CCCS has encouraged further advances inside the paradigm and several suggestions on conceptual devices to use in the research of subcultures.

One of these comes from J. Patrick Williams (2011), who has suggested dividing the framework in two complementary components—(i) ‘scene’ and (ii) a symbolic and ‘cultural’ concept of ‘subculture.’ (Williams 2011.) The concept of scene emerged initially as a challenger of the subculture concept in the early 1990s (Bennett 2011, 496; see also chapter 2.1), but Williams’ conceptualization aims to unite this ‘dissident’—if you will —strand of post-subculture theory as a part of the broader subculture tradition. In his theory, (i) scene is the socio-physical ‘true space’ manifestation and (ii) ‘subculture’—owing to symbolic interactionism—is then defined solely by its symbolic and cultural content—its styles, tastes, values, meanings, practices, and interconnected identities. The benefit of Williams’ conceptualization is that subculture participation is not a dichotomic concept, but a wide range of subcultural ‘commitment’ exists that the individual may express through their appearance. First and foremost, this means that an individual may also choose not to express or even identify to a subcultural alignment—albeit participating in a scene. (Williams 2011, 39–43; see also Hodkinson 2004, 144 on a conceptualization of subculture that is constituted by shared understandings, behaviors, and artifacts.)



For ‘scene’ exists a variety of definitions and variations throughout the ‘scene perspective.’ All of its conceptualizations share an interest in the social interaction that surrounds the making of music (for a recap see, for example, Straw 2015 or Bennett 2004). Often, they include an underlying idea of social and cultural exchange—‘cross-fertilization’—that sometimes results even in the ‘articulation’ of new artistic ideas—subcultures (Straw 1991). In later research, the concept has been refined. Bennett (2004) has divided scenes in local, trans-local and virtual. The local scene is bound to a certain geography—often a city, town, or another municipal-level region. Trans-local refers to scenes that surpass these geographical restrictions—the trans-local scene comes together from a variety of locations where dispersed actors create music and connect. Trans-local scenes can be even global on scale. The virtual scenes are scenes that take place mainly online. (Bennett 2004.)

According to a recent review by Will Straw (2015), the concept’s use has been even more flexible. According to him, ‘scene’ has been understood as the basis of cultural practitioners’ collectivity, ethical inclinations, mediation, and as a space for assembly, activity, symbolic and material transformation (in varying paces). (Straw 2015.) This thesis adopts Glass’ (2012) recent definition of scenes as social networks of people who are intertwined to each other via their surrounding environment when ‘doing scene,’ but drawing influences on a global scale—‘trans-local’ and ‘virtual’ scenes, but also from the ‘messages’ spread by the content of subcultures. The scene is thus a social and physical entity. Socially, scenes overlap with several other social worlds, and are a meaningful part of scene participants’ identity construction. Physically, the scene is anchored in dispersed locations in the urban infrastructure. (Glass 2012, 697–699.)

#### 4.1.4 Definitions of Do It Yourself and Squatting

We will return to scenes and subcultures at the end of this chapter, where the key concepts of the thesis are explicated. Not necessarily an ingrained part of subculture theory tradition; nevertheless, the concept of ‘DIY’ is most often associated with studies that build on top of the tradition. Relatively widely used—inside and outside of academia—, DIY nevertheless lacks sufficient conceptualization. The most comprehensive attempt comes from Sarah Lowndes (2016) who sees DIY activities to include two key characteristics: (i) they are initiatives by creative practitioners, often framed as collective initiatives and (ii) guided by non-profit motivations; therefore they often follow an ‘economy of means’ and ‘aesthetics of necessity.’ She also notes that for some DIY practitioners, DIY is a meaningful life disposition, and for some, even a basis for a full-fledged lifestyle. (Lowndes 2016, xiv.)

According to Lowndes’ research, DIY culture was initially a relatively marginal phenomenon when it was born in the decades following World War II. However, DIY has embedded as a part of societies—at least—of the ‘Western World.’ (Lowndes 2016.)

According to Bennett and Guerra (2018), the late 1970s punk subculture adopted the DIY ethos from the Situationist movement<sup>2</sup>. With punk, DIY’s popularity surged, and a variety of consequent subgenres continued to spread its message. (Bennett & Guerra 2018.)

According to Simon Frith’s seminal book *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure and the Politics of Rock’ n’ Roll* (1988 [1981]) when punk emerged, it was seen to challenge the capitalistic control of popular music’s production by seizing the ‘means of production’ and demystifying music-making. Punk declared not only ‘do it yourself,’ but that ‘*everyone* can do it.’ One of the consequences was a remarkable increase in the creation of local music and in the number of ‘independent’ record labels who prioritized artistic freedom over economic gain. (Frith 1988, 166–167; emphasis in the quote original.)

Bennett and Guerra also discuss DIY’s development in the decades following punk. According to them, DIY has spread further to genres such as heavy metal, indie rock, EDM, and hip hop. The spread has coincided with macro-scale structural changes in industrialization, which have increased unemployment and life uncertainty. Furthermore, the

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<sup>2</sup> The Situationist movement existed from the late 1950s to the early 1970s. Their central media was the journal *Internationale Situationniste* that ran through twelve issues between 1957–1969. The movement originated in the continental Europe and was especially influential in France, but it had also a global impact. The movement began as an art movement inspired by Dada and Surrealism but included political tendencies—especially Marxism—from early on and in the end formed a contra-capitalistic societal theory. In addition to writings, Situationists practiced arts such as poetry, film, painting and early forms of performance art through which they also used to express their dissidence. The movement formed one of the backbones of the 1960s counterculture. (Plant 2002 [1992].)

emergence of creative digital technology has democratized cultural production. Together these factors have made creative practice a viable occupational choice for contemporary youth and DIY a basis for a global 'alternative' culture. According to them, DIY participants are driven by motivations of communality, collective action, searching for alternative methods of production and opposition or evasion, of neoliberalism's influence. They conclude by stating that, in contemporary societies, DIY forms a cultural resource for 'lifestyle projects' that distance themselves from 'more mainstream and "official" discourses of urban transformation underpinned by neoliberal policy.' (Bennett & Guerra 2018.) In other words, they suggest that in the 21st century, DIY is shaping how our cities are structured.

Just as DIY, squatting is not an inherent part of subculture research, but scholarly discussions are often associated with subcultural studies. This thesis adopts a definition from Hans Pruijt (2013), who is a forerunner and trailblazer of squatting research. According to Pruijt, squatting is: 'living in—or otherwise using—a dwelling without the consent of the owner. Squatters take buildings intending relatively long-term use. Urban squatting can be distinguished from squatting on vacant land. [--] squatting that is organized by, or at least supported and/or inspired by, a social movement. This kind of inspiration comes from an activist-promoted master framework that is based on empowerment and enables "cognitive liberation" (Nepstad, 1997, 471) inasmuch as it lets people see empty buildings as opportunities and imagine that collective support for occupying those buildings can be organized.' (Prujt 2013, 19.)

## 4.2 Urbanism

### 4.2.1 Night-Time Economy and Alternative Cultural Spaces

Urbanism is interested in the interplay between inhabitants and the built infrastructure. Often this means research of cities for planning and design's purposes, but—according to an article from the field's pioneer Louis Wirth (1938, 1)—urbanism's interest lies in 'the urban mode of life.' Cantell and Koskinen (2011) go as far as to state Wirth's article as the single most-read article of sociology ever, and as the most influential text that guides urban studies. According to them, in the article, Wirth draws a picture of cities characterized by size, density, and diversity. A city is not only a place for residency and labor but also a space where economic, social, and cultural life agglomerate and develop. (Cantell & Koskinen 2011, 165.) Over the years, the paradigm has shed its skin numerous times, and countless variations of 'urbanism' exist today (see for example, Kelbaugh 2001; or Barnett 2011 on *'A Short Guide to 60 of the Newest Urbanisms'*). 'New urbanism' has emerged as an influential strand of the field from the 1970s onwards. According to Cliff Ellis, new urbanism emphasizes 'issues such as the environment, education, community and social equity, implementation, transportation and inner cities' in the construction of cities. However, the paradigm has also faced criticism for internal contradictions, deficient practice, biased methodology, and utopian expectations. (Ellis 2002, 261–262, 283.)

Writing on the fringes of new urbanism and urban sociology, Andy Lovatt and Justin O' Connor (1995) have coined a paradigm of 'night-time economy' that concentrates on the research of cultural facilities, festivals, and other cultural initiatives that bring people together. The concept incorporates nightlife, the 'realm of play,' and socialization to their *boring* backside—economics, planning, and urban and cultural policy. Under the umbrella of the night-time economy, Chatterton and Hollands (2002, 2003) discuss 'urban playscapes'—the cultural spaces and sites of the night-time economy, and its leisure practices. (Chatterton & Hollands 2003; Chatterton & Hollands 2002.) In the summarizing article published in 2002, they divide the spaces into three categories: (i) 'mainstream', (ii) 'residual' and (iii) 'alternative'. 'Mainstream' spaces are 'the well-recognized commercially provided bars, pubs and nightclubs that exist in most large urban centers, characterized by ownership by large national corporate players who are increasingly using strategies such as branding and theming to target certain cash-rich groups.' 'Residual' spaces are 'traditional pubs, alehouses and market taverns, [--] which were a common feature of most city centers

and which played a strong community role, [but] have been left to decline or are disappearing due to the changing priorities of many nightlife operators.’ (Chatterton & Hollands 2002, 99.)

Essential for this thesis, are ‘alternative’ spaces that are squashed in between the two. Through their definition, they are also connected to subculture research as, according to Chatterton and Hollands, alternative spaces ‘cater for more specific and specialist youth cultures and tastes, and are primarily organized around identities [--] or certain styles related to music and dress.’ The alternative spaces exist in contrast to ‘mainstream’ places partly due to being ‘taste cultures’—their users differentiate from the users of the mainstream places. Furthermore, in alternative cultural spaces, the users are not solely consumers but are also producers and act as self-regulators that maintain order. However, their relationship to the mainstream differs. While some alternative spaces are oppositional to mainstream culture, some are simply ‘bohemian versions’ of it. (Chatterton & Hollands 2002, 93, 99, 111.)

#### 4.2.2 Enclaves

The thesis’ theoretical suggestion of DIY music scenes creating and maintaining urban DIY enclaves rests on the urbanism research paradigm and specifically ‘enclave urbanism.’ From urbanism’s perspective, Claude S. Fischer (1975) has written how subcultures emerge in large and dense urban populations through a process where people’s concentration increases subcultural variation, intensity, diffusion, and unconventionality. The theory’s reasoning sees that a high number of people correlates with a high amount of diversification, which feeds further diversification, and therefore different subcultural communities are born. For Fischer, social categories that define identity, such as age, ethnicity, gender, education, and class, determine the subcultural diversification process. (Fischer 1975, 1319–1320, 1324–1330.)

The urban density and diversification are the prerequisite for the birth of ‘enclaves.’ Urban planners and other design professionals refer with the concept to spatially and socially distinct urban areas—other such concepts are, for example, ‘slum’ and ‘ethnoburb.’ (Abrahamson 2020.) While previous conceptualizations of ‘enclaves’ exists, the concept leaped forward with a special theme issue of the journal *Urban Geography* in 2012. In the issue’s introduction, it is suggested that enclaves are formed through specific cultural, functional, and economic groups or activities—such as work, leisure, shopping, and

housing—and therefore host particular communities. Furthermore, according to the authors, enclaves are emerging in contemporary metropolitan areas all around the world. (Wissink, van Kempen, Fang & Li 2012, 161.) This thesis adds cultural activities to the writer's list. The concept has been used by Krivý (2013) about a domestic case—the 'cultural enclave' Suvilahti in Helsinki. (Krivý 2013.)

#### 4.3 This Thesis' Key Concepts and Understanding of Societal Reproduction

Now, to sum up and clarify. The very central concept of the thesis is 'scene'—a social network consisting of 'participants' of DIY culture that operate in a city, in this case, Helsinki. The scene network is anchored to several hubs in the physical infrastructure, in this case, 'alternative cultural spaces,' and more specifically, the marginal 'informal and uncommercial' ones. The participants as individuals may identify and express alignment with a 'subculture' that is defined by symbols, tastes, values, and norms. The subcultural alignment happens on a scale where a participant might be highly invested in a subculture—when a subculture is essential for their style and identity, or almost irrelevant—for example, a person might wear some pieces of subcultural clothing, but not think much else of it. 'DIY culture' is constituted through a variety of 'DIY activities.' These are diverse by their nature, but in this case are mainly enjoying, creating and facilitating music-related events, and include, therefore—for example—maintaining the alternative cultural spaces. First and foremost, the activities are guided by ways of thinking that emphasize independent culture production, communality, and sometimes political and societal aspirations. Some of the participants might also indulge in a 'DIY lifestyle' based on their activities and ideology.

The macro-scale reproduction of scenes and subcultures, the thesis understands through Pierre Bourdieu's thoughts on the reproduction of culture. In the book *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993), Bourdieu maps out different fields in the society—political, social, and the field of art and culture production. According to Bourdieu, the fields are 'a system for reproducing producers of a determinate type of cultural goods, and the consumer capable of consuming them.' (Bourdieu 1993, 121.) In these fields, social actors are located in an interconnected relation to another's position. The position is determined by the actors' access to cultural, social, and economic capital, which also determines the actors' attraction to the cultural goods produced by the field, and together the capitals define the actors' position in the field. According to Holly Kruse (2003), alternative music scenes are what Bourdieu refers to in his discussion on high art as 'fields of restricted production'—specialized subdivisions of the cultural field, which are defined by 'production for

producers.’ Therefore, it is, in fact, the existence of the cultural field that attracts the actors to reproduce the field, and it is the scene that attracts the actors to reproduce the scene. The scene’s actors are drawn to the scene based on their position in the society while the position is defined by access to different forms of capital. (Kruse 2003, 152.)

## 5 Methodology

### 5.1 Epistemology

According to Pertti Alasuutari (2011)—a long-time advocate of qualitative methodology in Finnish sociology—, qualitative research aims to create a research result that can be extrapolated. It differs from the generalization of quantitative research, where the research result is derived from a sample that is seen to represent a population or other entity. By extrapolation, the researcher contextualizes their finding to other research results. In other words, the results are expanded based on what we already know. However, according to Alasuutari, this is not essential in studies that concentrate on generally recognized but largely unknown cultural phenomena. In these cases, the research aims to come to a clear and verbalized conclusion based on scattered observations, and the conclusion is seen to reflect the ‘cultural unconsciousness’ of society. The results role is to draw attention to a phenomenon that any member of the same culture recognizes as a self-evident part of the society. To achieve its goal, a qualitative study needs to be based on empirical evidence, and is coherent, internally logical and follows the ‘clues’ of the data. (Alasuutari 2011, 190–191.)

Qualitative research follows a two-step pattern: (i) creating ‘clues’ and (ii) ‘solving the mystery.’ The first part aims to make observations out of the data and develop these into clues that are the ‘key’ to solving the mystery. This first part also follows a two-step model. First, (a) the data is approached from a specific theoretical and methodological viewpoint, and guided by the research questions, ‘raw observations’ are obtained. Then (b) these observations are ‘compressed’ into one or more clues by finding common nominators or formulating rules that apply to the whole data. Now, in the second step (ii) of the research, we approach the mystery using the clues. In this part, the researcher aims to get ‘behind’ the clues—to solve the mystery by making analytical sense out of the observations, and not merely state them. The presupposition is that the data includes several scattered specimens of the same phenomenon, which the researcher reorganizes then as the research result. (Alasuutari 2011, 32, 59.)

Because of the dispersed and ‘hidden’ form of the thesis’ subject matter<sup>3</sup> that makes it difficult for historical inquiry, the thesis adopts the epistemology of oral history. The method is a way of producing and interpreting data, which has developed in historical research of cultures that have left behind only a few or no traces—the sources of historical inquiry. The method has become especially popular in research of social history and other ‘from the below’ topics. (Peltonen 1992.) The method allows reaching social and cultural phenomena that exist in the informal and ‘other’ realm—located often in the margins and ‘shadows’ of the society. (Abrams 2016; Häkkinen & Salasuo 2019.)

Outi Fingerroos and Riina Haanpää (2006) find three different viewpoints from oral history’s epistemology: (i) the ‘interpretive’ trait views data as a subjective account of the informant, (ii) ‘explanatory’—positivistic or ‘factual’ viewpoint—sees data to reflect the ‘true’ conditions of the society and (iii) ‘critical’ that highlights the emancipatory features of bringing the voice of—often marginalized—informants to the limelight. (Fingerroos & Haanpää 2006, 38–40.) From this study, it is possible to find all three epistemologies. The study’s departure point is an emancipatory one. Historically, youth and subculture participants have been belittled, stigmatized, and even ridiculed.<sup>4</sup> This study brings forth the viewpoint of scene participants. Their ‘voice’—the data—is seen to include both subjective understandings of the informants and factual information. For example, past scene participation’s influence on current identity is seen as subjective information that represents how the informants use past participation as a way of explaining their maturation—for themselves and others (see also Atkinson 1998 on ‘life story’ and how individuals make sense of their current life through life history). On the other hand, the informants are seen to provide also ‘factual’ information. For example, it is not doubted whether the informants attended the spaces they reminisce. This viewpoint is especially relevant for the first analysis chapter 7.1. Nevertheless, the errors of human memory—downright forgetting, misremembering, and distortion of memories—are acknowledged and taken into account in the analysis. (Abrams 2016; see also Alasuutari 2011, 74–78 on ‘factual perspective’ on qualitative data and source criticism.)

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<sup>3</sup> DIY culture is largely an informal ‘oral’ culture that leaves only scarce and fragmented sources of itself behind. Furthermore, it is largely ignored by national memory organizations and other key institutions that form archives. (Baker & Huber 2013.)

<sup>4</sup> This ‘slander’ has included dimensions where scene participants have been seen to represent the society’s ‘other’, in other words, the opposite of the ‘respectable’ citizen. (see for example, Salasuo 2018, Bennett 2013; Griffiths 2009; Cohen 1972.) This mentality can also be found from theories surrounding subcultures. (See for example Clarke, Hall, Jefferson & Roberts 1976.)



## 5.2 Qualitative Content Analysis

After these epistemological acknowledgments, we can turn into the practicalities of the study—QCA and how the data has been developed from ‘raw material’ to ‘observations’ and finally into ‘clues’ that are made analytical sense. According to Jouni Tuomi and Anneli Sarajärvi (2018), QCA is a systematic method for categorizing qualitative data—such as text or audiovisual material—to produce a coherent interpretation of the sources at hand.

According to them, QCA is a process in which the researcher approaches data from a specific viewpoint and narrows it down by their research interests. The method follows four steps which are: (i) deciding the research topic and questions, (ii) going through the data and highlighting relevant findings, and dismissing the leftovers, (iii) organizing the data by category, theme or type and (iv) writing a summary—the acquired results. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018, 78.) Alasuutari (2011) adds to this a fifth step—‘solving the mystery’ —, extrapolating the acquired results to surpass the ‘inner world’ of the study by reaching out to previous literature and theory and expanding the interpretation of the result drawn from the analysis at hand. (Alasuutari 2011, 32, 194.)

In the third part (iii), the scattered observations were compressed into clues. In this case, all of the three forms of creating clues are used: categorization, thematization, and typifying. (a) Categorization refers to simply categorizing the observations under categories that share some characteristics. The categories can then be discussed in the analysis under themes, and even quantified—counting their presence in the data. (b) Thematization divides the observations under themes and looks more closely into what has been said about them. The themes are then developed in subthemes, and therefore the data is divided into observations that fall under one theme and one subtheme. (c) When typifying, the observations are grouped into types—sums that are more than their parts—by looking at shared characteristics and connections between observations. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018, 78.)

The analysis followed the five-step model, as presented by Tuomi and Sarajärvi, and Alasuutari. The study began by first (i) deciding on the research questions. Then (ii) the data was coded using the qualitative content analysis software Atlas/Ti and the relevant codes left while others were dismissed. In the third part (iii), categories were used—for example, to acquire knowledge of musical genres performed in the spaces. These are also sometimes used as quantified (see, for example, Table 3 in chapter 7.1.1). Types were created by connecting certain categories and generalizing them under broader ‘umbrella concepts.’ For example, in the case of ‘DIY operating principles,’ three different categories were united

under the type: 'low-threshold,' 'open doors,' and 'inclusivity' (see chapter 7.1.2.i). As the central device became thematization: Initially, themes related to the research questions emerged from the data. Next, under the emergent themes was developed more precise subthemes that better shed light on the research question. For example, the meaning of the spaces for the scene was thematized under 'Skenelle' ('for the scene'). This theme was then developed in eight subthemes. These refer to the different dimensions of the meaning of the spaces. For example, 'Skenelle: Sosiaalinen sekoittuminen' refers to all mentions of social mixing in the spaces. (The whole code 'tree' is included as Appendix 1.)

The result of the fourth part, (iv) 'writing the summary,' is the analysis chapter 7. In the chapter, the results of the third part have been explicated. In the chapter is presented an interpretation of the data and the empirical evidence for the claims made. The most reflective data citations have been put on display. The analysis discusses only the cases, which emerged from the data frequently (at least more than twice)—in opposition to 'cherry-picking' observations that support the researcher's interpretation (or agenda for that matter). However, in seldom cases, one-off observations are discussed, but when this happens, the analysis is clear and unambiguous of rare observations in the data. The very last part of the analysis (v) is the conclusion and discussion, chapter 8, where the research results are discussed with existing social research and literature on urban planning.

### 5.3 Production of the Data

It is time to take a look into the methods that have been used to collect, or to be more precise, to produce the data of the study (for itself the data see chapter 6.1.) The primary data has been collected with a combination of oral history and qualitative online survey research. In the Finnish oral history tradition, a common way of collecting data is through freeform essay collections—a topic is declared, and everyone is entitled to write their reminiscence on the subject. The result is a data set that consists of numerous varied essays that differ in content and form. Often a singular response includes several sections that together form an entity that varies on a scale from coherent to fragmented. The benefit of the method is its 'bottom-up approach.' First, (i) the freeform does not predetermine the formation of the data. Secondly, (ii) the method allows for equity—anyone who has anything relevant to reminiscence about the topic is entitled to respond. (Fingerroos & Peltonen 2006.) Inspired by oral history, the collection form began with an encouragement to reminiscence about the spaces in freeform and from any point of view. However, after

this initial question, a series of open-ended questions were posed following the methodology of qualitative surveying.

A qualitative survey is a tool for collecting data from a population that is defined concerning the research question. In contrast to a quantitative survey, an online survey does not produce—nor in the interpretation rely—on a sample that can be generalized to its representative entity (Alasuutari 2011, 27–31, 189). However, the tool aims to grasp different characteristics of the topic of inquiry from responders that fulfill the criteria of answering. (Jansen 2010, 2.) In this case, potential informants are everyone who has been involved with alternative cultural spaces in Helsinki during the 2000s. There exist several methods of producing qualitative survey data (Jansen 2010), but in this case, a pre-structured questionnaire was chosen. Apart from background information, the survey was formed from open-ended questions to minimize the researcher's influence—possible bias—in the formation of the final data set. (see Alasuutari 2011, 73.)

Because our collection was present only online, the known advantages and disadvantages of online surveys apply for data production. According to Kevin B. Wright (2005), the benefits of online surveying is time and cost. The method is a relatively fast, efficient, and inexpensive way to produce a large data set that is easy to process further. First and foremost, due to the internet's extensive usage and spread, online surveys can reach 'unique populations' – specific communities – otherwise difficult or even impossible to contact at large. For the informants, the anonymity of online communication lessens the fear of being stigmatized when participating in a study that includes sensitive characteristics. (Wright 2005, 3–6.) The last two points are especially important for this thesis as the informants are a rather narrow and even a 'marginal' group. Furthermore, some of the spaces have been obtained via unlawful practices. These include squatting, while parties in the spaces have included—for example—the use of intoxicants and sometimes disorderly conduct.

The disadvantages of online surveying create one of the uncertainty factors of the thesis. A survey conducted only online creates its limitations as the use of the internet and digital devices varies according to demographical factors, which divides respondents into groups more and less likely to respond. (see for example Smith 2008, 3.) Furthermore, information spreads unevenly in online platforms and responding to a particular online survey is attractive to a particular individual, and unattractive to the other, enlarging the possibility of bias. Also, an open survey allows—at least in theory—for a responder to answer multiple times and create bias in the data. (Wright 2017, 7–12.) It can be argued that

this is especially relevant in this thesis as among DIY and subculture participants of whom some see official or commercial activities as threatening to their existence. (See, for example, Hebdige 1979 and chapters 6.1 and 8.3 on possible bias in the data.)

#### 5.4 GIS as a Method of Data Presentation and Spatial Analysis

In the analysis chapter 7.1.1, the spaces in the data will be presented via maps made by GIS and their locations analyzed. The method allows approaching social sciences from a spatial perspective. According to Chris Gibson, Chris Brennan-Horley, and Andrew Warren (2010), GIS is relatively rarely used in culture studies. However, the writers promote its usage—especially in urban planning—because the spatial mapping of culture can challenge existing notions of where culture happens in cities. (Gibson, Horley & Warren 2010, 346.) Lily Kong (1995) has pointed out how the geographical analysis of popular music may help to understand music's sociopolitical context. (Kong 1995, 195.) An example of both historical and musicological use of GIS is made by Sarah Taylor, Colin Arrowsmith, and Nicole T. Cook (2014). They map the development of the live music scenes of Sydney and Melbourne (Australia) between the early 1980s and early 2010s. They demonstrate how the scenes' geographical centers have shifted with socio-spatial changes in the city's structure. (Taylor, Arrowsmith & Cook 2014.)

In the five-step model of the analysis (presented in chapter 5.2), the maps were analyzed during the (iv) fourth step when the QCA results were explicated. In practice, the maps were made with the software QGIS 3.10 Coruña from the primary data. In the software, the maps were analyzed with the tool feature Hub Lines / Distance that is a plug-in of MMQIGS. The tool allows to measure the distance from one point to the nearest point on the map (defined by the user). It is similar to such QGIS vector tools as Nearest Neighbour Analysis and Distance Matrix. The base maps are from the Wikimedia Commons' database and free to use.

## 5.5 Tacit Knowledge as Secondary Data

A last methodological note before introducing the data, in the analysis, I make use of my tacit knowledge and observations as a scene participant and employee in the museum exhibition workgroup. The details of my participation are explicated in chapter 6.2. While it would be tempting to frame this as ‘participatory observation,’ my years with the scene do not constitute the rigour of the ethnographic method.<sup>5</sup> However, due to my involvement, I do have a lot of ‘tacit knowledge’ defined by Michael Polanyi’s (1966) seminal work as personal and context-specific knowledge formed as a result of prolonged involvement and experience with something. While not a model example of social science practice, the usage of information from one’s own life is relatively common in dissertations and master thesis, but also published research of some social topics (see, for example, Glass 2012; Snyder 2012; Springer 2004). In Finnish academia, Ritva Raippa’s (2002) doctoral dissertation about punks’ life cycles and Peipinen’s (2018) master thesis both utilize observations from the researcher’s own life as primary data.

It is emphasized that in the thesis at hand, observations obtained from my participation, are used solely as secondary—supplementary—data. The details of my participation are explicated in chapter 6.2. Furthermore, it is noted that the use of personal recollections in a qualitative study—that aims to produce an interpretation of the topic researcher’s interpretation (for example, Alasuutari 2011, Abrams 2016, 54–59; Fingerroos & Haanpää 2006, 41)—requires from the researcher self-reflexivity and -consciousness to avoid bias. In other words, I am avoiding confirming any pre-existent understanding of the phenomenon and approaching it through the data’s ‘eyes’. Paul Hodkinson (2005), has discussed the benefits of ‘insider research’ in length. Hodkinson notes that being an insider also gives access to informants, insight to what appears as externally as subcultural distinctiveness, but conceals internal divisions shared and contested meanings among the participants—and in separating the significant aspects of youth culture participation from the less significant. Furthermore, addressing ‘insider research’ itself, Hodkinson highlights that we are all part of the society and have direct and indirect relationships with all social phenomena. (Hodkinson 2005, 132–146.)

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<sup>5</sup> Participatory observation in the field requires reflexivity and ethnic considerations and includes such steps as keeping a constant diary, making memos, conducting interviews, and collecting different kinds of data from videos to personal documents. (Hämeenaho & Koskinen-Koivisto 2018, 16)

## 6 Data

### 6.1 Primary Data

A museum exhibition prompted the collection of the primary data, but from the get-go, it was also collected for research purposes. The collection was organized as a co-operation of the Helsinki City Museum and Music Archive Finland. The exhibition will open in November 2020, and the data will be archived—at least theoretically—forever. The theme of the collection was DIY music scenes' places in Helsinki in 2000–2020. The data collection began on the 3rd of September 2019 and ended on the 30th of November 2019. The collection aimed to produce background information and source material for the exhibition and collect data on a musical phenomenon that leaves only a few traces of itself behind. The needs of the exhibition naturally guided the collection—including the formation of the questionnaire. In addition to written responses, also audiovisual material and items to be displayed were collected. Some of these photographs are included as data in the analysis.

In the press release, the collection's theme was defined as 'the vital rhizome of DIY music scenes and their informal and uncommercial places where grassroots-level music has been made and performed.'<sup>6</sup> The press release was reported by STT (Sttinfo.fi 2019) and was, in consequence, also included in Helsingin Sanomat (Hs.fi 2019) and on the website of the music magazine Rumba (Fräntilä 2019). The collection was also promoted in the online platforms of Helsinki City Museum and Music Archive Finland. Information about the collection was also spread in social media—including specialized online communities—and with direct contacts to scene participants. I created the backbone of the questionnaire as an employee of the Helsinki City Museum, but it was further developed with members of the workgroup.<sup>7</sup> Three test responders filled and gave feedback on a draft of the survey.

The collection was carried out with Google Forms. It was decided that answering all of the questions is voluntary to encourage responding. The collection form asked first the responder's background information—their name, birth year, gender, and role(s) in the scene. Next, contextualizing questions of the space or spaces, the response concentrates on

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<sup>6</sup> The translation by the undersigned. The original press release read (in Finnish): 'ruohonjuuritason epämuodollisista ja epäkaupallisista musiikin tekemisen ja esittämisen paikoista ja DIY-musiikkipiirien elinvoimaisista rihmastoista.' The complete bulletin is included as Appendix 3.

<sup>7</sup> Eero Salmio and Aki Pohjankyrö (Helsinki City Museum) and Juha Henriksson (Music Archive Finland) commented on the questionnaire. Also, Marja-Leena Jalava—an archival researcher from the Finnish Literature Society, an institution that specializes in oral history collections – gave feedback on the collection. Pohjankyrö finalized the final formulations of the questionnaire before publication.

were posed—such as the space’s location, active years, and appearance. Itself the questionnaire began with a request to recall the space in freeform. After the opening question, detailing questions—altogether 30—were posed under three themes’ practices’, ‘fluency of participation, good and bad sides,’ and ‘the meaning of the space or place.’ The questionnaire is included in full as Appendix 2.

Altogether, 82 responses were received. The respondents are born between 1953–2000. One of the respondents identifies as male and female, three non-binary, 22 as female, 51 as male, and 5 decided not to disclose their gender. The self-reported roles of the responders fall under audience member, critic, artist, musician, DJ, event organizer, producer, handyman, sound technician, squatter, urban activist, culture activist (including culture organizations’ board members), facilitator and person in the administrator organization of the space. From the overall data, twelve responses were omitted from the analysis. In them, the spaces under recollection did not fit the criteria of the study—being located outside of Helsinki, being active only before the 2000s, or being otherwise unfit for the study (for example, commercial bars). Most of the responders answered to the freeform reminiscence form. However, responses to the detailing questions varied.

The survey was criticized in social media by scene participants. Concentration on DIY spaces was seen as problematic, because some of the scene participants did not experience the spaces themselves as meaningful or central to the functioning of DIY scenes. On the other hand, it was noted that the spaces the scene uses change often and are often only short-lived—including one-off events. (reference omitted to protect the identities of the scene participants.) Partially this can be explained by the simplifying press release, which misleadingly discussed overall the ‘Helsinki DIY scene’ without considering their diversity. The researcher was also told in private that the heavy reliance on detailing questions was experienced as cumbersome. The implication is that—for whatever reason—the instructions of the survey failed to a degree to indicate in clear that the responder is free not to answer questions they cannot provide a response. Furthermore, one responder left only a one-line response in the whole questionnaire, where they stated their disdain for the whole project and the museum as an institution to host ‘underground.’ (Q51:1.) This indicates that some of the potential responders chose not to respond, because of the collection’s connection to the exhibition, which means that the data might be biased and not representative of responders who are against the idea of an exhibition of DIY or underground music.

The data has been archived to Music Archive Finland, where it is accessible for anyone for future research or verification. Ethical guidelines and legal regulations guide the

use of the data—in this thesis and future research. (Tutkimuseettinen neuvottelukunta 2012.) The survey stated that the data is stored for use in research. For this thesis, the data's use has been contracted with Music Archive Finland in writing. In the publication, all data is anonymized by removing identifying information such as band and event names. To the data is referred only with the number of the response and the quotation's code in Atlas/Ti. For example, in the above reference, 51 refers to the response number and 1 to the quotation's running number. The decision to withdraw information on the responder's gender and birth year—almost standardly used in social sciences when referring to data—was made to safeguard the responder's identities. Some of the social groups under study are small, or even tiny, and gender and birth year could identify the responders. Furthermore, no connections between the responder's age and gender, and analytical observations were established, so the results do neither suffer from this precaution. When necessary, to the responders is referred with their role in the space and, to avoid tautology, sometimes with the gender-neutral pronoun 'they'. (See more about 'singular they'—*The word of the year 2019*—from Merriam-webster.com 2020.)

## 6.2 Secondary Data

The primary data is supported by tacit knowledge I have acquired participating in DIY music in several of the thesis' spaces in 2009–2019 and includes information obtained during my stint as a curator for the Helsinki City Museum's exhibition. During the years, I have had the pleasure of enjoying music, organize and play gigs, interview scene participants, attend board game nights, and even stay overnight in some of the spaces of this study. During the time, I have had a variety of roles, including a journalist, fanzine maker, musician, record label runner, and 'distro' salesclerk. I have also worked in brief on Oranssi's payroll in 2014–2015, but my tasks did not include anything related to their space or even contemporary DIY music. Of the spaces discussed in the thesis, I have spent time in Alina-Sali, Casa Academica, Merihaka parking garage, M/S Illusia, Katu on Punk, Kontula mall, Konttiaukio, Kupoli, Kääntöpöytä, Là-bas, Makamik, MUU Galleria, Omenapuutalo, Pasilan galleria, Rauhanasema, Satama, Suvilahti DIY park, and —Venetsia. I have also followed several alternative rock, punk, and hip hop scenes closely in and outside of the scope of this study as well as online. When relevant, I use observations from my participation to expand results drawn from the primary data. In some instances, to verify 'factual' claims made by the informants, online sources such as websites, social media pages, and bulletin board messages are used.



## 7 Analysis

### 7.1 The Informal and Uncommercial Alternative Cultural Spaces of Helsinki

The first analysis chapter pinpoints what kind of are the informal and uncommercial alternative cultural spaces of Helsinki in the first two decades of the new millennium. The analysis is divided into three subchapters. The first subchapter 7.1.1 is divided under three sub-headers. The first one (i) introduces the spaces and their characteristics such as their type (as physical constructions), life span, acquisition and governance; the second one (ii) their location in the city, aesthetics and condition; and the third (iii) what kind of music genres and activities the spaces have facilitated. The second subchapter 7.1.2 discusses the spaces' operating principles and ideals of the participants under two sub-headers. The third subchapter 7.1.3 discusses problems and setbacks of the spaces. These have been divided under four sub-headers—(i) scarcity or complete non-existence of funding, (ii) challenges posed by the run-down condition of many of the spaces, (iii) 'outside' forces—citizens who did not participate in the spaces, police and City of Helsinki and (iv) scene participants themselves.

#### *7.1.1 The Characteristics of Alternative Cultural Spaces*

(i) An Introduction to the Alternative Cultural Spaces: Types, Lifespans, Governance, Facilities and Characteristics

We start the introduction of the spaces in the data with Table 1 below. In the table is listed all of the 34 spaces in the data. The spaces are organized according to the number of responses per space with the most commonly recalled spaces on top. The number of responses that dealt with a specific space is indicated with 'n.' A dash (–) indicates that no data is available and N/A (Not Applicable) that no other DIY facilities exist in the space. From the 'Type' column, we can see that there exist four types of spaces: (i) outdoor venues, (ii) buildings, (iii) room(s), which refers to one or more rooms in a building, and (iv) a ship. The most common are buildings with 19 mentions, second comes outdoor venues with eleven mentions, then five rooms, and lastly, one ship. Omenapuutalo and Mäntymäentie represent both building- and outdoor-types, and M/S Illusia ship- and outdoor-types, because of their yards, which double as performance space. Vapaakaupunki has also moved from an outdoor venue to a room in the mall Redi. The diversity of the outdoor spaces should be noted. They are the previously mentioned yards in front of

buildings, but also war bunkers, street spaces, forests, a former train tunnel, a parking hall's ground floor, and a square with multi-purpose freight containers.

*Table 1. The Alternative Cultural Spaces' Life Spans, Types, Governance, Facilities, and Other Characteristics*

Name	n=	Type	Years active	Governance	Governed By	Other DIY Facilities	Other Characteristics
Konttiaukio	11	Outdoors	2010–2014	Rented	Oranssi Ry, Bermuda Ry	Containers host a variety of practices	Dedicated for DIY practices; Consists of several freight containers
Oranssi	11	Building	2014– <sup>8</sup>	(Squatted); Rented	Oranssi Ry	The venue space doubles as rehearsal space; workspaces in the cellar	Dedicated for DIY practices; Oranssi's own events; Subleasing for private use
Vuoritalo	10	Building	2002–2006 <sup>9</sup>	Rented; Squatted	Punk Ry/ squatters	Living quarters; a rehearsal space	Dedicated for DIY practices
Siperia	5	Building	2002–2006	Squatted; Rented	Squatters	Living quarters / social spaces	Dedicated for DIY practices
Sosiaalikeskus Satama	3	Building	2009–2011	Squatted; Rented	Squatters	A campsite for Roma people	Dedicated for DIY practices; Facilitated a camp of Roma people <sup>10</sup>
Rajatila	3	Building	2008	Squatted	–	–	–
Vadelma	3	Room(s)	2005–2007 <sup>11</sup>	Rented	Vadelma Ry	Studios and workspaces	Dedicated for DIY practices; Members only as organizers
Katu on Punk	3	Outdoors	2007–	Squatted	Squatters	N/A	An annual street party / squat held in various locations
Kallio Block Party	2	Outdoors	2011–	Permitted	City of Helsinki	–	An annual street party / squat held in various locations
Omenapuutalo	2	Building/O utdoors	–2017	Rented	Private person	–	Dedicated for DIY practices
Makamik	2	Building	2013–	Squatted; Rented (?)	Squatters	–	Dedicated for DIY practices
Elimäenkatu	2	Building	2007	Squatted	Squatters	–	Dedicated for DIY practices
White House	2	Building	2002–2008	Squatted; Rented	Squatters	Living quarters; the live venue doubled as a rehearsal space	Dedicated for DIY practices
Venetsia	1	Building	–	Squatted	–	–	Dedicated for DIY practices
Suvilahti DIY park	1	Outdoors	2011–2019	Rented	Helsingin rullalautailijat Ry	A skatepark	Dedicated for DIY practices; Primary a skatepark
A former store of S-group	1	Building	2016	Squatted	Squatters	N/A	Dedicated for DIY practices; A one-off squat party
Pasilan galleria	1	Outdoors	2009–2019	–	City of Helsinki	N/A	Dedicated for DIY practices
Palokaivo	1	Building	2011–2012	–	–	N/A	–
Mäntymäentie	1	Building/O utdoors	–	–	–	Workspaces	–

<sup>8</sup> Oranssi's other locations in the data are: Katajanokka 1994–2002; Herttoniemi 2004–2007; Garage & Tiivistämö (Suvilahti) 2008–2011.

<sup>9</sup> Vuoritalo's lease was discontinued in 2006. After this, the place was squatted and used irregularly for years.

<sup>10</sup> For more details see Yle 2011a and Yle 2011b.

<sup>11</sup> The respondents concentrated on Vadelma's Lönnrotinkatu location. The place has later been located in several districts in Helsinki.

Là-bas	1	Room(s)	2000–	Rented	Private person	Doubles as a rehearsal room, studio and workspace	Dedicated for DIY practices; Doubles as a studio/workspace; Subleased for private use;
Kupoli	1	Room(s)		Rented	HYV	N/A	A student house; Subleased for private use; Students only as organizers; Only temporal DIY use
Kumma	1	Building	2016–	Squatted; Rented	Squatters	N/A	Dedicated for DIY practices
Kohtuukäyttöklubi	1	Building	2013	Squatted; Rented?	Squatters	–	Dedicated for DIY practices
Happihuone	1	Building	2006–2008	–	–	–	–
M/S Illusia	1	A ship/ Outdoors	2015–2017	Owned	Private person	Living quarters	Dedicated for DIY practices; A houseboat
Kääntöpöytä	1	Outdoors	2018–	Rented(?)	Dodo Ry	Urban gardening	Dedicated for DIY practices; Also a functioning part of railroad infrastructure
Alina-Sali	1	Room(s)	–	Rented	HYV	N/A	A student house; Subleased for private use; Students only as organizers; Only temporal DIY use
Casa Academica	1	Room(s)	–	Rented	Hanken	N/A	A student house; Subleased for private use; Students only as organizers; Only temporal DIY use
Karku	1	Building	2007	Squatted	Squatters	Living quarters; A living room / social space	Hosts NGOs; Subleased for private use; Only temporal DIY practices
Rauhanasema	1	Building	1986–	Owned	Rauhanliitto	–	A building for Rauhanliitto; Subleased for private use; Only temporal DIY use
Muu Gallery	1	Building	1999–	–	Muu Galleria	N/A	A gallery / exhibition space; Only temporal DIY use
War Bunkers	1	Outdoors	2017–2019	Squatted	Squatters	N/A	Only temporal DIY use
Kontula mall and its surroundings	1	Outdoors	2016–2019	Permitted	Kontulan isännöinti Oy	N/A	A shopping mall and surrounding spaces; Only temporal DIY use
Kalasataman Vapaakaupunki	1	Room(s)	2018	(Rented) Permitted	Kiinteistö Oy Kaapelitali; Redi mall	N/A	Previously an outdoor venue in Suviolahti, now a room in the mall Redi
A parking hall in Merihaka	1	Outdoors	2013	Permitted	Merihaka Oy	N/A	Only temporal DIY use; A parking hall

*The table has been composed from the data. When a space has been located in several locations, the most recalled location is listed. When the respondents were contradictory about the active years, majority figures have been chosen on display. When no majority existed, the responder's relationship has been considered when choosing figures. For example, a person who lived in the place or was setting it up initially, has been preferred over an audience member or a musician. In three cases, the information has been supplemented with information available online. These are Rauhanasema (Rauhanliitto.fi 2020), Vadelma (Vadelma.org 2020) and Muu Galleria (Muu.fi 2020). A dash means that the information is not available. All of the spaces include a venue for performing music, so this information is not listed. However, all additional facilities can be found from the column 'Other Facilities'.*

The life span of the spaces is in the 'Years active' column. Based on the column, it can be stated that a distinctive and shared characteristic of the spaces is their short life span. Most of the spaces lasted a maximum of five years. The other end of this spectrum is temporal events and squat parties that have lasted only around a day, or even less. For example, a person behind a squat party in a former store of S-group declares their party lasting 'from 23:00 to 12:00.' (Q46:17.) Some exceptions to the rule apply. Là-bas,

Rauhanasema, Muu Galleria, Oranssi, and Vadelma have all continued facilitating DIY activities for more than a decade. However, of these, only Là-bas, Muu Galleria, and Rauhanasema have stayed in one location. A stable funding can explain their long-standing. In the case of Là-bas, a private person takes care of the rent for the space. Behind the two others exists an NGO with some form of funding. Oranssi and Vadelma have been founded respectively in the early 1990s (Peipinen 2012) and 2004 (Vadelma.org 2020). However, their spaces have moved several times and been located only short-term in fixed locations. As the following quote by a person behind Vadelma brings forth, the organization was aware from the get-go that their stay was only temporal when renting the space in 2005 (and leaving it in 2007):

The property had been bought by the real estate company [name of the company removed] and the house had been planned to be developed into a residential building. We were able to rent the cellar space for an affordable price of 3 euros a square meter, altogether around 1500 euros a month. We knew that we need to leave the space sooner or later when the development plan would go through and we got three months of notice on the lease. (Q15:1.)

On the other hand, it should be noted that according to one of the respondents, Oranssi's current lease (from 2014 onward) is for 30 years. (Q6:12.) While the data is incomplete, it can also be expected that the three rooms owned and governed by universities have been used for DIY music events irregularly for—at least—the two decades of this study.

The governors of the spaces were discussed already in brief above. Besides private persons, organizations, and universities, the spaces of the data have been governed by squatters and the City of Helsinki. As for how the spaces were acquired, in the data exist two primary forms of acquisition—renting and squatting the space. Three of the spaces—a parking hall in Merihaka, Kallio Block Party, and Kalasataman Vapaakaupunki—were also acquired by asking permission and were granted for use without cost. Vapaakaupunki was initially rented from Kiinteistö Oy Kaapelitalo, but in its current location in Redi, it lies free of charge. Squatting was also reported to have often led to a formal—relatively low—lease with the building's owner. The following responder's understanding is that a lease was agreed on White House because the owner saw it easier than an eviction:

The house in Lauttasaari was owned by a private instance who agreed to make a rent contract with the inhabitants after the first squat. The space was rented as a clubhouse where living was informal and the price very nominal. I believe that the owner was not interested in the fate or condition of the building, and it was easier to let the squatters stay than to begin a fight for the eviction. (Q1:37.)

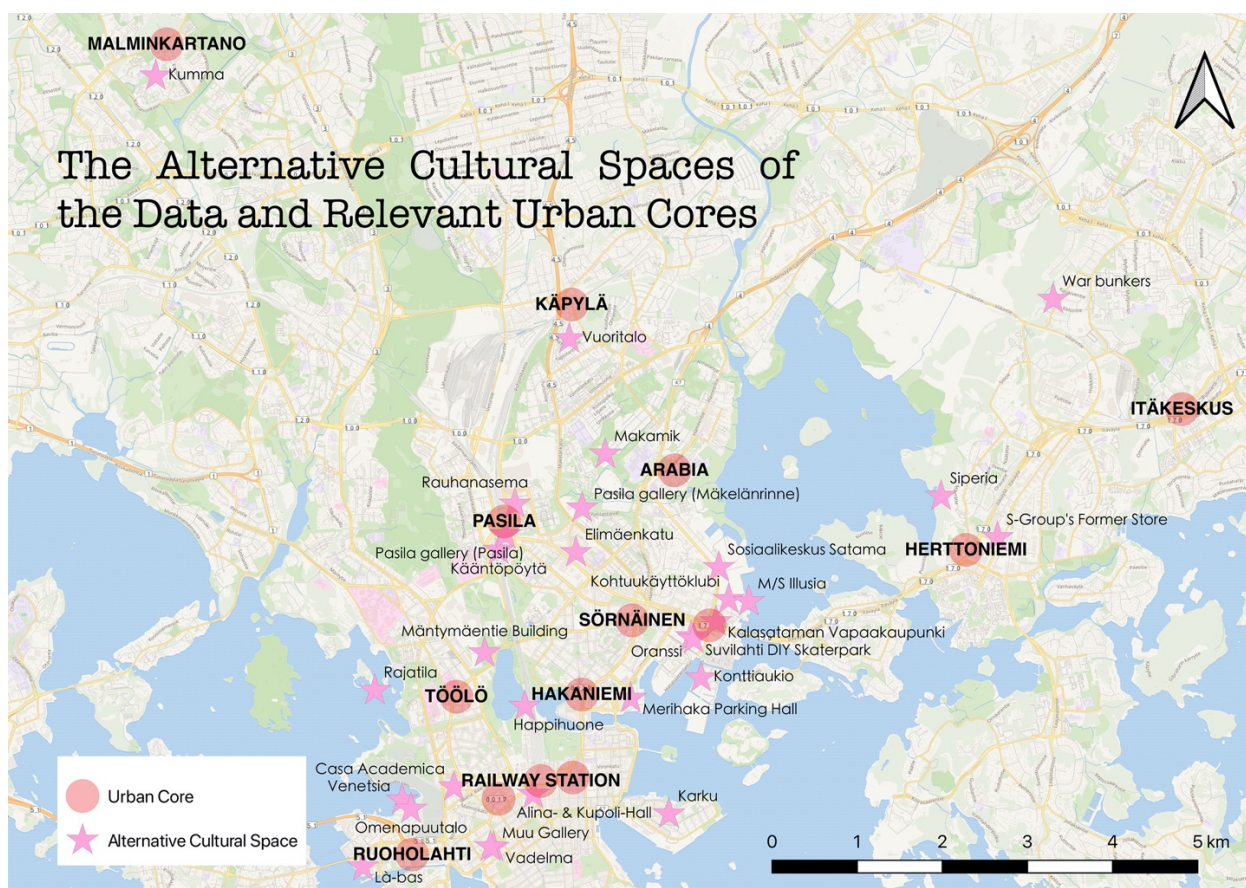
However, in the case of Vuoritalo, the route was the opposite. Initially rented for the organization Pääkaupunkiseudun underground-nuorisokulttuuriyhdistys (PUNK Ry) from the City of Helsinki, after their lease was annulled, the space was squatted. (Q1:36.) It should be noted that from the governors, two also owned their spaces. Furthermore, the number of squats that led to a lease is most likely deficient because it is not to be expected that all scene participants—our informants—are aware of the delicacies of the spaces’ governance.

The two ‘Other’ columns—other facilities and unique characteristics—explicate the particularities of the spaces and indeed reveal the diversity of the spaces. The key ‘other’ facilities of some of the spaces are living quarters, living rooms, and rehearsing spaces. Some have unique infrastructure such as the skatepark in Suvilahti, the Roma camp in Sosiaalikeskus Satama, and the containers of Konttiaukio that were used in flexible ways and hosted at least a DIY bike shop and art exhibitions. On the other hand, while a majority of the spaces can be said to be dedicated for DIY activities, others are far from this. Especially the universities’ student houses have a variety of other uses—as a person from Helsingin yliopiston teknokulttuurin ystävät ry (HYTKY ry; an organization for ‘University of Helsinki’s friends of techno-culture’) states ‘[t]he space usually hosted academic table parties, and raves were an exception that took place a couple of times a year [--].’ (Q14:6.) Also, the organization’s spaces—except for Vadelma that is an organization dedicated solely for DIY activities—included more than mere DIY. Spaces such as Suvilahti DIY skatepark, war bunkers, the store of S-group, and the parking hall of Merihaka have facilitated the seldom DIY events but could not be more different to the university’s spaces—or each other.

(ii) The Spaces' Location, Condition and Aesthetics

In the below Map 1, you can see how the spaces in the data are spread around the city and located in relation to the urban cores of Helsinki. The map is representative of the data—and cannot be read as a comprehensive presentation of alternative cultural spaces in Helsinki. Most spaces are located in the inner-city, but some also are in the northern and eastern suburbs. Kumma lies as the sole space of the northern Helsinki and White House (not in the map due to its address being unknown) in Lauttasaari. The geographical spread of the spaces should be noted. The direction is from the inner-city center towards the eastern and north-eastern inner-city center, but also areas in and around Pasila. Kumma is located as the sole space of northern Helsinki. The regions in the inner city and eastern inner city are where most of Helsinki's urban culture and artistic life (see chapter 2.3) takes place and represent thus a lucrative location for also the music scene. The location of several spaces in Pasila might, in fact, foreshadow the transition of the cultural life towards northern inner city (beyond Kallio and Vallila districts; see Bottà 2019 and chapter 2.2.)

*Map 1. The Alternative Cultural Spaces of the Data and Relevant Urban Cores*



*See Appendix 4 for a larger copy of the map. Pasilan galleria is mapped twice as it is a tunnel, and both of its ends have been used for events (and the tunnel itself). Oranssi and Vadelma have had several spaces and only their current locations are mapped. Katu on Punk, Kallio Block Party and Kontula's events that have taken place in several locations have not been mapped. Pallokaivo and White House are not on the map as their detailed locations are unknown. The cores have been defined by the researcher. The mapping has been done on a 2020 map of Helsinki.*

However, a more detailed look into the spaces' location in reveals that they are, in fact, located in fringe areas of the city. While most of the spaces can be found from the center of Helsinki, they lie at a distance from urban cores (such as places of business, culture infrastructure, or public transport hubs). In fact, according to the distance analysis presented in Table 2 below, the war bunkers in Viikki and Karku in Katajaokka are over one kilometer from the nearest urban core. At over 750 meters lies Makamik, Elimäenkatu, and the Mäkelänrinne end of Pasila Gallery (a former railroad tunnel). The 500-meter threshold is the most revealing—most of the spaces are located over 500 meters from the nearest urban core. These are Happihuone, Merikahaka Parking Hall, Siperia, Konttiaukio, Sosiaalikeskus Satama, M/S Illusia, Muu Gallery, Casa Academica, Vadelma, Venetsia, Omenapuutalo, Là-Bas and Mäntymäentie Building. At a distance of over 200 meters lies S-Group's Former Store, Oranssi, Kohtuukäyttökлубi, Suvilahti DIY Skatepark, Vuoritalo, Kumma, Kääntöpöytä, Rauhanasema. The rest, at less than 200 meters, are Kalasataman Vapaakaupunki, Pasila gallery (the Pasila end) and Alina and Kupoli halls.

*Table 2 The Distance of Alternative Cultural Spaces to the Nearest Urban Core*

<b>Name of the Space</b>	<b>Hub Name</b>	<b>Distance (Meters)</b>	<b>Urban Environment</b>
Makamik	ARABIA	834,30	Nature
Happihuone	HAKANIEMI	682,05	Nature
Merihaka Parking Hall	HAKANIEMI	579,28	Residential area
Siperia	HERTTONIEMI	693,54	Nature; Residential area
S-Group's Former Store	HERTTONIEMI	397,91	Public utility zone
War bunkers	ITÄKESKUS	1984,27	Nature
Konttiaukio	KALASATAMA	623,35	Redevelopment area
Oranssi	KALASATAMA	253,97	Redevelopment area; Culture infrastructure
Sosiaalikeskus Satama	KALASATAMA	687,11	Redevelopment area
Kohtuukäyttökлубi	KALASATAMA	377,72	Redevelopment area

Kalasataman Vapaakaupunki	KALASATAMA	87,13	Commerce; Residential area
M/S Illusia	KALASATAMA	537,97	Redevelopment area
Suvilahti DIY Skaterpark	KALASATAMA	247,61	Redevelopment area; Culture infrastructure
Casa Academica	KAMPPI	543,08	Culture infrastructure; Residential area
Vadelma	KAMPPI	572,62	Residential area; Culture infrastructure
Muu Gallery	KAMPPI	571,19	Residential area; Culture infrastructure
Vuoritalo	KÄPYLÄ	400,22	Nature; Residential area
Kumma	MALMINKARTANO	393,23	Nature; Public utility zone
Kääntöpöytä	PASIILA	343,61	Redevelopment area
Rauhanasema	PASIILA	239,17	Residential area
Pasila gallery (Pasila)	PASIILA	156,63	Redevelopment area;
Elimäenkatu	PASIILA	918,45	Public utility zone
Pasila gallery (Mäkelänrinne)	PASIILA	928,61	Nature
Alina- & Kupoli-Hall	RAILWAY STATION	178,73	Culture infrastructure; Commerce
Venetsia	RUOHOLAHTI	650,82	Nature; Culture Infrastructure;
Omenapuutalo	RUOHOLAHTI	532,38	Nature; Culture Infrastructure;
Lä-bas	RUOHOLAHTI	595,32	Culture infrastructure
Rajatila	TÖÖLÖ	960,89	Public utility zone
Mäntymäentie Building	TÖÖLÖ	612,22	Nature
Karku	UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI (KAISANIEMI)	1207,87	Public utility zone; Residential area
White House	N/A	N/A	Residential area; Nature
Palokaivo	N/A	N/A	Residential area; Nature
Katu on Punk	N/A	N/A	Street space; (Varied locations)



Kallio Block Party	N/A	N/A	Street space; (Varied locations)
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*The distance has been calculated via QGIS' plug-in's MMQIS' feature Hub Lines / Distance. The distance calculated is the straight line from the space to the core and does not take into account traffic connections and accessibility. In the 'Urban Environment' column is typified the spaces urban environment. When more than one type is presented, the primary and geographically most prominent type is the first mentioned.*

However, the truly revealing character of the spaces is their urban environment. For example, Kääntöpöytä in Pasila can be found from an old railway yard—and not from districts new core, Mall of Tripla (with 85 000 square meters of floor space; see Uuttahelsinkia.fi 2016). In fact, distance from Kääntöpöytä to the Pasila hub is calculated to be 343,6 meters—and this is a direct line drawn from the space to the region's core, and not the length of the pedestrian route to the space. Furthermore, the area is a redevelopment area that will change in the following decades, which threatens the space's existence. As a person from Kääntöpöytä notes, 'we hope to be organizing events on Kääntöpöytä next summer.' (Q64:21.)

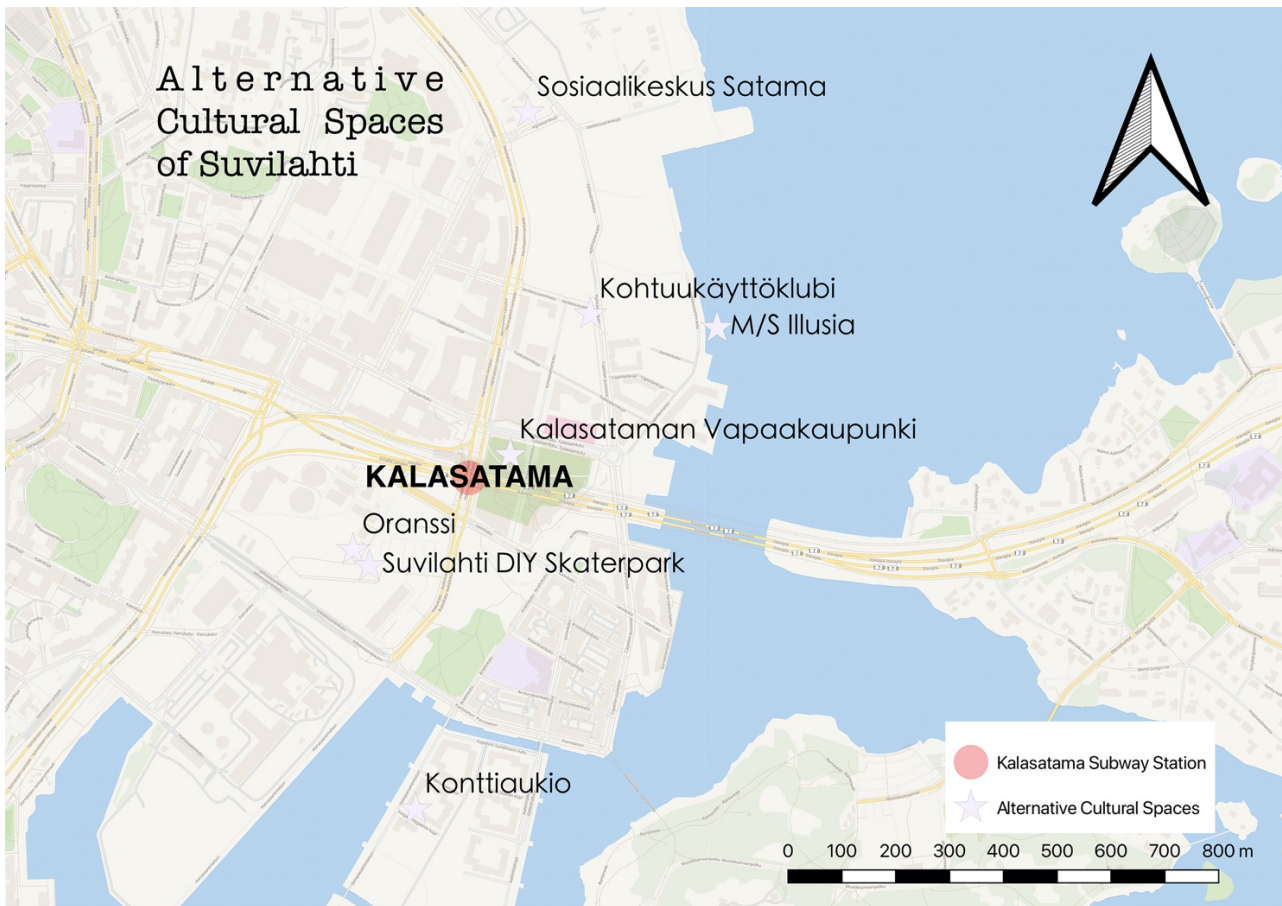
In the urban environment column, the spaces have been categorized under eight types. Eleven of the spaces are located in areas where they are either surrounded or near nature, and another eleven are located near other cultural spaces and institutions and are therefore ingrained as a part of broader cultural infrastructure. Seven of the spaces were located in redevelopment areas, which refers to areas under vast urban transformation, including construction and transforming the area's function (for example, from a harbor to a residential area). Eight of the spaces have been located in or in the immediate proximity of residential areas. Four of the space have been located in public utility zones, in other words, amidst infrastructure that hosts offices, warehouses, small industry, and other such infrastructure. Two have been located solely on city streets. Kalasataman Vapaakaupunki, is currently primarily in a commercial area, but the university spaces Alina hall and Kupoli are also in the immediate proximity of mainly commercial areas.

The interplay between the distance to the core and the urban environment in which the space is located that truly reveals the fringe location. To demonstrate this, take a look at Map 2 below. In the map is the alternative cultural spaces of the districts that use the subway station of Kalasatama (Kyläsaari, Verkkosaari, Suvilahti, Kalasatama, Sompasaari)—the broader Suvilahti area. The area has been chosen for closer scrutiny, because it represents well the alternative cultural spaces fringe locations, but also how their setting impacts the space's prospects. You can see how only Kalasataman Vapaakaupunki,

Suvilahti DIY Park and Oranssi are located well under 500 meters from the Kalasatama subway station. It should also be noted that they are also the most established ones of the spaces. Sosiaalikeskus Satama, M/S Illusia, Konttiaukio and Kohtuukäyttöklubi are all located at a distance from the subway station (though the last mentioned is at 377 meters from it). If you take a close look at the map, in 2020, the surroundings of Sosiaalikeskus Satama, M/S Illusia and Kohtuukäyttöklubi are still unconstructed, or under construction (including the site for the first skyscraper of Finland—Majakka; see Takala 2015.) All of the latter mentioned spaces have been forced to shut down.

Vapaakaupunki, Suvilahti DIY Skatepark and Oranssi still remain in the area. However, Oranssi and the DIY Skatepark also suffered from a remote location when initially moving in the region in the turn of the 2010s. At the time, the area's culture initiatives were only taking off, and the current residential buildings and REDI mall were not in place. In fact, Oranssi went through two locations in the area before settling down in its current location (in 2014 as mentioned in 7.1.1.i.) It was in fact the region's vacancy, incompleteness and wastelandesque nature why the Suvilahti DIY Skatepark got a temporal permission from the City to be constructed in the area. (Niemi 2017.) Kalasataman Vapaakaupunki was initially located in the yard of the former gas station where Oranssi now resides. However, Vapaakaupunki has since moved inside the REDI mall. Amidst all of the spaces, it is a true exception with its central location and high accessibility. The space is also exceptional because of its primary location in an otherwise commercial area. Of course, the famous Sompassauna—not present in the data—lies also in the area, in the end of Sompassaari (and most far away from the Kalasatama subway station).

Map 2. The Alternative Cultural Spaces of Suvilahti



See Appendix 4 for a larger copy of the map. The mapping has been done on a map of Helsinki in 2020.

Of the data's spaces, in the most extreme solitude, have laid the spaces that are located primarily in a nature setting. The war bunkers in Viikki are away from any infrastructure except nature and jogging trails. The buildings of Makamik and Mäntymäentie are also sole wooden buildings that have somehow survived the urban renewal but been left in the process standing alone in fringe areas. Vuoritalo was located up on a hill in Käpylä with no immediate neighbors surrounding it. Likewise, the Mäkeänrinne end of Pasilan galleria is relatively cut off. Quite nearby it lies residential buildings and the Mäkelänrinne swimming hall, but the space itself was concealed by nature and difficult to reach. The Siperia squat in Herttoniemi was introduced with a sign that said, 'you're now leaving EU,' which demonstrates well how isolated the space was from any surrounding infrastructure. Also, some of the spaces that are, or have been, located in public utility zones are at a remote location. While other buildings often surround these spaces, their neighbors are usually warehouses, workshops, and other such places of daytime labor. This is also true for

Vadelma, Muu Galleria and Karku, which are located in the city center, but amidst residential areas in Kamppi and Katajanokka.

Some exceptions to the fringe location apply. Two out of three university-owned spaces—Alina and Kupoli—are also located in the very core of Helsinki in Mannerheimintie 51 (and less than 200 meters from the Railway Station). Casa Academica lies in a central, but less favorable location on the outskirts of Etu-Töölö (and at 543 meters from Kamppi subway station). The two street events of the data have been organized in various locations, but they are central and easily accessible. The aspiration of Katu on Punk was to squat a central transportation connection in the city to maximize visibility for a political message of ‘[t]ake urban space in the hands of (sub)culture and the city dwellers, away from cars [--].’ (Q16:5), which, of course, meant setting up the roadblock, demonstration, and party in a central location. Also, Là-bas’ location in Ruoholahti might at first glance seem to be on the outskirts of the inner city center and transportation hubs—and it is, with 595 meters to Ruoholahti subway station and its commercial infrastructure. Nevertheless, its location cannot be deemed peripheral, because it is one of Helsinki’s central agglomerations of cultural infrastructure—the basement of Kaapelitehdas.

In the survey, the responders were asked to describe the appearance of the spaces and the wider urban space. They gave out answers such as ‘home-spun’ (Q2:13), ‘a bare, asphaltic environment’ (Q4:5), and ‘worn’ (Q6:3). In the following, four pictures are presented and—while unable to grasp the full diversity of the spaces—the pictures represent all of the four ‘types’ of spaces in Table 1. The pictures are analyzed in the vein of visual QCA and supplemented with quotes from the data.

*Illustration 1. Konttiakio*



*Photograph by Fileri, distributed under [CC-BY-SA 4.0 license](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/).*

In Illustration 1, we have Konttiaukio. The space is, obviously, an outdoor venue. Graffiti art covers all of the containers, and also spreads to the asphalt in the form of chalk drawings. Graffiti is connected as an integral part of the hip hop subculture (Rose 1994) but also often seen as a subculture of its own (for example, Mitchell 2003). On the left of the picture, you can see a glimpse of the areas only bathroom—a portable toilet. Overall, the space is plain and bare—with only the two trees in the center of the picture providing some greenery. There is nothing ‘extra’ in the area—for example, the group sitting down in the front of the picture are resting on asphalt as there is seating in the area. One should also notice how vast the area is overall, and how the tent used for performances is only a small portion of the overall fixture. Furthermore, in the background of the picture is visible, a warehousesque building and a lightning structure that can be attributed to the spaces’ past as a harbor area.

Konttiaukio was described by two responders as follows:

Four (or more?) containers formed a half-circle near the strand but leaving a lot of open space—bare, asphaltic environment. In addition to containers, near the premises was 1–2 portable toilets. Before arriving at the site, the road was bordered with a long graffiti fence. (Q41:1.)

Quite beat-up. A lot of random trash and things; only a small amount of any fixed material (wherever it came from) besides the containers. In a way, Konttiaukio was only made more attractable by it [the appearance, aesthetic], because it separated the space from more commercial and organized spaces. Konttiaukio was never genuinely filthy. People cleaned after themselves all right after-parties. (Q76:5.)

The picture confirms most of their observations. However, they provide some additional information. First, the portable toilet on the left of the picture is the only one (or the one of two) for the whole event space. Second, the graffiti art is not restricted to the space, but in fact, the space itself lay as a part of a permitted graffiti wall in the Suvilahti district that stretched from around the Kalasatama subway station to the end of Sompasaari. The other citation brings forth how the picture’s clean, almost serene, atmosphere was not an exception, but in fact, the spaces’ typical appearance. Furthermore, the responder brings out a suspicion that the few fixtures besides the containers (possibly not present in the picture) might have been scavenged from somewhere.



*Illustration 2. Sosiaalikeskus Satama*



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In the second illustration, we see Sosiaalikeskus Satama, which was a squatted building. The venue space itself is inside. The space is in quite a contrast to Konttiaukio, considering the amount of loose debris around the building itself and the fence in the front of the picture. On a closer look, the pile next to the fence includes bicycle parts, but also tools and material that can be used to construct or renovate a building. Furthermore, visible is traces of the space's particularity—the Roma camp that existed on its lawn. You can see drying laundry and a mobile home used for dwelling. The space also shares characteristics with Konttiaukio. Its surrounded by plain asphalt what seems to be used as a parking lot. Furthermore, the building is covered with graffiti. Overall, the space is relatively bare.

The following responses shed light on the decoration of the spaces. The first one describes the venue space in the house, located on the top floor in a space initially planned for social purposes. The person also brings out how the yard was not only used by the Roma camp, but it served as an extension of the venue space on event nights:

The party was on the top floor in a space that resembled a living room/office. [--] In the yard, there was a fire in a barrel. People went there to get some rest in the fresh air. (Q73:12.)

This person highlights how the political aspects of the space were also reflected in the décor. One should also take a notice in the mismatched cutlery that indicates that they are giveaway-material:

[--] quite clean and typical anarchistic space. A lot of books, pamphlets, and political posters and mismatched cutlery. [--] the space was made more colorful and vivid by the Roma living in the yard. (Q28:8.)

*Illustration 3. Kupoli*



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In this illustration is the room Kupoli located in Uusi ylioppilastalo—a large building dedicated to student activities. The room is quite filled, but one should take a notice to its bareness. Apart from the thrown around furniture (and trash), the space does, in fact, only have two wall lights. The furniture is not uniform but is suspected to be found and giveaway. (Though the gray sofa seems to be in good condition.) The built-in table in the corner most likely doubles as a café or an (illegitimate) bar during events. The pole in the middle of the room indicates that the space is not in its originally intended use as it seems



rather inconvenient. The other striking feature of the picture is the several posters and banners on the walls. It is not clear whether these are a permanent fixture or left from an event, but having visited the space, I can assure that similar decorations were fixed to the space. One should take notice of how the four visible banners all carry a political message. Furthermore, the palm-shaped paintings on the wall are a permanent fixture—reflecting the DIY nature of the space. The space was summed up by one responder as ‘[w]orn down, but in a way stylish.’ (Q33:5.)

*Illustration 4. M/S Illusia*



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In the last illustration is presented the only ship in the data—M/S Illusia. One should take notice of the similarities between Konttiauquio and Sosiaalikeskus Satama. First of all, the area around the ship can be described to resemble the bareness of the previous spaces. To facilitate live music (and other events), the ship has two tents, and there seems to be one under construction in the front of the picture. Furthermore, a simple stage structure is



underneath the tent on land. Chairs are located on the ship and in front of the stage. The wooden logs on the left seem to be also designed as seating. The fence behind the stage is self-made while the yard in front of the stage is self-reinforced with sheets of rubber or plastic material. The space is made more attractive with trees and plants. On the left of the picture exists some street art, a decorative fabric, and in the center of the picture is a dog sculpture. Especially the decorative fabric follows a specific subcultural aesthetic. It is located on the wall of a container that seems to create one of the yard's permanent fixtures. Overall—apart from the tents and the container, the fixture reflects makeshift solutions to host live music.

The space has been described by one of the responders as follows. The citation is especially telling of the ship itself, in which existed a stage on the deck, and—highlighting the makeshift solutions—even a small sailing boat that doubled as seating. The interior was on two floors. On the bottom floor existed a large inside space that also functioned as a venue space (and apparently also for the musical and social practice of *kirtan* originating from Indian religions; Wikipedia 2020):

A white-blue steel ship with a green dragon in the mast. On the deck, a small stage for a band and small sailing boat where you could sit and enjoy the music. In reserve for rain, three tents of which two on the deck and one on the bank. The interior was spacious and was divided on two floors and two parts. On the other part was sofas and the other was more open for players and, for example, *kirtan*. (Q37:6.)

To summarize, the four spaces above *are* quite different from each other. However, they do follow the 'aesthetics of necessity' formulated by Lowndes. They are bare and simple without almost no extra facilities. They have been constructed and are maintained following the meager means available, which often means makeshift solutions and using giveaway and found material. The spaces have been decorated with art that follows a subcultural form of expression. Some spaces also have political decor such as banners, posters, and flyers with slogans and information about political events.

(iii) Music and Other Activities in Alternative Cultural Spaces

Because the data was collected about cultural spaces used by the DIY music scenes, it should come as no surprise that every single one hosted live music and other music events.

In Table 3 below is presented the music genres of the data connected to the spaces.

However, it is emphasized that the table is only indicative. The response per space rate is so small that a correlation exists between the number of genres mentioned and responses. To amend for this—at least rudimentary—, only spaces with three or more responses have been displayed. Nevertheless, the problem persists, and from the table can only be concluded that most of the spaces seem to have hosted a variety of genres. This interpretation is supported by responses that stretched the diversity of the genres. For example, the following person reminisces the diversity of the musical palette of Konttiauquio ‘[e]verything between the underground and the sky.’ (Q24:23.) My observations also give support to this interpretation. While many spaces might be connected socially to certain scenes and symbolically to certain subcultures, they are nevertheless used by several scenes and—at least sporadically—different genres might be performed in the spaces—even in the same events. Furthermore, many spaces—such as Konttiauquio (as the table also indicates)—do not have any single alignment and can be seen as general spaces used by music scenes.

*Table 3 Music Genres of the Spaces (with Three or More Responders in the Data)*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Genres</b>
Konttiauquio (n=11)	Rock and subgenres (6); Electronic music and subgenres (5); Hip hop and subgenres (2); Pop (1); Folk (1); Non-Anglo-Saxon music or ‘World music’ (1); Noise (1); Art music (1)
Oranssi (n=11)	Rock and subgenres (6); Hip hop and subgenres (2); Pop (1); Folk (2); Experimental music (2); Non-Anglo-Saxon, or ‘World’ (1); Improvised (1); Noise (2); Blues (2); Jazz (1)
Vuoritalo (n=10)	Rock and subgenres (12); Electronic music and subgenres (1); Hip hop and subgenres (1)
Siperia (n=5)	Hip hop and subgenres (4); Rock and subgenres (4); Electronic music and subgenres (2); Experimental music (1)
Sosiaalikeskus Satama (n=3)	Rock and subgenres (3); Electronic music and subgenres (1); Hip hop and subgenres (1); Experimental music (1)
Rajatila (n=3)	Rock and subgenres (2); Electronic music and subgenres (1); Hip hop and subgenres (1); Experimental music (1)
Vadelma (n=3)	Rock and subgenres (5); Experimental music (1); Folk (2); Pop (1); Blues (1)
Katu on Punk (n=3)	Rock and subgenres (3);

*The table has been composed from the data. Schlager (or 'iskelmä'), art music, and reggae were also mentioned in the data connected to places with less than three responders. It should be noted that the figures are mentions in the data and should only be seen as approximate and indicative.*

One exception to the rule emerges. In the data, musical genres appear both as genres and their subgenres. From the coding of these, a relevant observation emerged. Punk rock is in the data in an exceptionally perceptible role. In fact, punk was connected more often than rock with most of the spaces Oranssi (6 to 5), Vuoritalo (9 to 3), Siperia (3 to 1), Sosiaalikeskus Satama (2 to 1), Katu on Punk (3 to 0) and with Konttiaukio and Rajatila, punk rock was brought up as often as rock music. From this can be drawn three notices—first, (i) Vuoritalo can be named as a mainly punk joint, which mostly hosted the genre solely. Second, (ii) Katu on Punk, as the name reveals, concentrated only on punk—all of the three genres mentioned to have been performed there are punk. From previous literature, a third observation can be made—(iii) the data reinforces the interpretation of punk subculture having a close relationship with DIY practice (see for example Moran 2010; chapter 2.1.)

In addition to hosting live music, numerous 'side activities' were carried out in the spaces. No one activity was common for all of the spaces. The activities that emerged from the data—in order of popularity—are: theater and other performance arts, serving of food (including unlicensed bars and cafeterias), rehearsing music, different kinds of workshops, political action, film screenings, living or temporal dwelling, sports, sociality (or 'hanging out'), flea markets, reading and study circles, studio work and VJing ('video jockey,' equivalent to a DJ with visual effects on their charge). One of the activities the respondents brought forth was construction, which was done for practical reasons—fixing and decorating the spaces.

### *7.1.2 DIY Operating Principles and Ideals Behind Participation*

The theme of this subchapter is the operating principles and the ideals the practitioners connect to the spaces and DIY. The thesis understands ‘operating principles’ as practical guidelines that determine the spaces’ usage—an ethos on how the participants aspire the spaces to be used. On the other hand, ‘ideals’ are more abstract and underlying ideologies, which the practitioners connect to the spaces and DIY activities overall. From the point of view of oral history’s constructivist epistemology (Fingerroos & Haanpää 2006), the research results in this subchapter reflect how the participants themselves see the social, and sometimes explicit, guidelines that regulate the spaces’ use—the operating principles—and the societal and political meaning—ideals—of their DIY participation.

#### *(i) DIY Operating Principles—Low threshold, Open-Doors and Inclusivity (and ‘Safer Space’)*

The DIY operating principles are constructed from relevant themes that emerging from all of the responses. Therefore, they cannot be applied as they are presented here to any one particular space, but to reflect the ways of thinking that the scene participants share about the spaces and how they should be, and are, run and used. Exceptions are also discussed at the end of this subchapter. The operating principles consists of three interconnected parts. They all overlap but have slightly different viewpoints. The three components have been named: (i) ‘low threshold’, (ii) ‘open-doors’, and (iii) ‘inclusivity’. Low threshold refers to a policy, which tries to make participating in DIY activities as easy and encouraging as possible. The spaces offered the chance to organize music events (or other activities) with as few barriers as possible. The key method was offering the space and needed audio-technical equipment—when available (see chapter 7.1.3.ii)—for use for free or for only a low cost.

For example, a person behind Konttiaukio explains the space’s operation model:

[--] the operating principle was simple. We offered a space, electricity, and the necessary audio-visual equipment and publicity help for anyone who wished to organize their own cultural event. The reservation of the time and space happened through the website [web address removed]. The user committed to our principles of organizing open for public, free, and uncommercial cultural activities. Everyone, therefore, had the chance to develop independent culture and invite others to join. (Q24:10.)

Considering that in the data did not exist any exceptions—and plenty of mentions—to the low threshold policy, this can be suggested as an overarching characteristic of the DIY scene and its alternative cultural spaces.

The open-door policy refers to the fact that the spaces were for use by any practitioner, but the events were also open to *everyone*. The responder cited above already discusses the policy in Konttiaukio's context—the space's explicit principle was to organize events (and other activities) for the general public, but also to let anybody interested, be the organizer. The only explicated exception to the rule was Vadelma, in which organizational activities were restricted to members only. Nevertheless, their events were open for everybody—as this response from a facilitator of the space brings forth:

Several public events like concerts, art events and film clubs were organized there, but also spontaneous concerts, after-parties and jams—during all hours of the day. The organization's members could use the space, but it was open for friends and visitors. With Vadelmakellari, the organization gained around 150 members. (Q15:9.)

Inclusivity refers to work done to make sure that the aforementioned open-door policy—with an emphasis on including everybody—would become realized. One part of this was to make participation as affordable as possible to allow participation despite a person's disposable income. For the organizers, this meant that no fees were demanded for the use of the spaces. For the audience the events were either inexpensive, free, or funded with an *ex gratia* payment. For the artists, this meant no or only small financial rewards (this aspect, and the problematics of the spaces' finances are discussed in detail in chapter 7.1.3.i.) Some responders also highlighted the fact that the alternative cultural spaces were one of the few spaces where underaged participants were allowed in.

The other salient aspect of inclusivity that emerged from the data is promotion of social norms and atmosphere that makes all feel welcome—and *not* excluded. According to several of the responders, this was done by adopting a 'safe space' (*turvallinen* or *turvallisempi tila*; see, for example, Hunter 2008) policy to remind participants to be alert of behavior that can create experiences of discrimination and promote social norms to tackle disruptive behavior. A visible reminder of the policy was experienced to work—to a degree—as intended. The following responder discussed in their response both Omenapuutalo and Kääntöpöytä:

I've noticed that the clear verbalization and notice of the safe space policy in events helps to increase their safety. On the other hand, I've also noticed that presenting the need for a safe space can be difficult. If one has not experienced unsafety, it can be difficult to understand others concerns over a lack of safety. (Q64:25.)

However, not all of the spaces follow the safe space doctrine. While Là-bas can be seen to follow the other aspects of DIY operation principles, a person behind Là-bas states that in its practices, safe space was never a doctrine—quite the opposite: 'Là-bas never was

a "safe space," not for the performers themselves and not for any audience.' (Q56:17.) The person sees La-bàs' inclusivity coming from a different perspective. They explain that in La-bàs, the diversity of culture is valued over any other forms of inclusivity—even if it means artists' whose work is experienced, or is, discriminating:

[T]he artists' politics, as far as I've been aware of them or can guess, have been from another extreme to another, from left to right, from anarchism to literally monarchism. In the name of total freedom of expression, the choice of artists has never been limited by ideological or political matters. (Q56:7.)

## (ii) Diverse Ideals Behind Participation, and Their Manifestation in DIY Spaces and Activities

In the survey, the responders were asked if their DIY activities in the spaces aimed to change the society. From the direct answers, several societal and political ideologies emerged of which some practitioners shared. These answers are also supplemented with information elsewhere in the survey—for example, the freeform reminiscence. The diversity of the ideals forms the basis for the first conclusion of this subchapter: DIY activities have different meanings for different participants; in other words, the meanings are individual, and the person connects their own meanings to their activities and the venue in which they act. Before plunging in the ideals, it needs to be stretched that not all of the practitioners connect societal or political aspirations to DIY activities—as this responder brings unambiguously forth: 'Visible political activism has never been central for my DIY-experience.' (Q3:1.) One of the respondents saw the apolitical stance of their events in Konttiakio as a part of the space's inclusivity discussed above: 'The events were free of political or religious commitments, open for everyone and free.' (Q27:13.) From this responder's viewpoint, independent cultural production itself is, or might be, politicized, however, they do not see it having an impact on a larger scale: 'Of course, acting on your own terms in a space free of exploitative capitalism is itself a political statement, but it does not have an impact in the broader picture.' (Q28:15.) Likewise, this responder—discussing Kohtuukäyttökлубi and Konttiakio—highlights how political activism was not a part of the events, but an underlying presupposition: 'The activities were political on the premise, but not otherwise [--].' (Q46:11.) One of the responders also recognized a change to have taken place in the dynamics of the DIY scene where politically active groups have diverged from the music-oriented groups: 'Political ideologies are not spread any more like in previous years and the more political folk has also attending gigs and concentrates more on organizing demonstrations and political events and stunts.' (Q28:15.)

Because the survey asked explicitly about societal change and political values, it can be presumed that other responders who share the previous citations' sensibilities chose to skip the question and the data is therefore biased. The ideals that were connected to the alternative cultural spaces and DIY culture are: anarchism, animal rights, anti-capitalism, -fascism, -homophobia, -racism, -sexism, -hierarchy, equality, feminism and inclusiveness (and PLUR, short for 'Peace, Love, Unity, Respect'), 'free space,' liberalism, pacifism, promotion of arts and culture, social activism, underground and bringing underground to 'overground.' However, some responders solely listed these ideals without explicating their relationship or influence on DIY practice. Before going into how the ideals were realized in the spaces, it is noted that some of them can be seen to have influenced the 'DIY operating principles' (see chapter 7.1.2.i). Beneath the principles' aspiration to be enabling, welcoming, and inclusive is underlying ideas at least from feminism, inclusivity, and promotion of arts and culture, and some of the 'anti-ideologies.'

One of the more frequent themes in the data was the ideal of free space. This ideal was shared between responses on both squatted, rented and permitted cultural spaces. For example, compare the following quotes. In the first one, the responder discusses how the squatting of Palokaivo was carried because the group wanted to create a space for DIY activities, but also included a conscious attempt to make a visible political statement about it:

Squatting itself is a political act and aims to change society, for instance, by increasing equality and taking space for the use of culture and independent action. Often it also tries to draw attention to vacant spaces at a time when many do not have a home and there's no room for subcultures. (Q17:6.)

The following responder discusses an event in Merihaka parking hall—a rent-free and permitted space. Notice how the underlying ideal behind using the space—just as in the squat above—was having 'right to the city': 'The event stirred up new ways of taking over space and facilitating music culture in particular urban spaces.' (Q31:13.) Likewise, this responder discussing the meaning of participating in Konttiaukio says how the access to urban space is one of the governing factors of their experience: 'Freedom to act in a space provided by the city.' (Q27:20.)

From the same perspective, some responders highlighted the importance of 'reclaiming' urban space. Their aim was to create an autonomous space—albeit temporally—, which follows its own—and at least sometimes anticapitalistic—logic of DIY culture. The following respondent crystalizes the idea concerning Konttiaukio: 'Konttiaukio

felt like an independent part of Helsinki where the commercial actors could not reach. It was a wide outdoor space, which gave every organizer possibility to spread and use the environment like they wished.’ (Q4:5.) Some of the responders were even more explicit about their view of the DIY spaces as anticapitalistic. The following description of M/S Illusia highlights how—for the responder—the ship represents an alternative to capitalism and consumerism that penetrates the contemporary urban infrastructure:

A beautiful and surprising oasis on the shore of Verkkosari. On the other side, the monstrous modern society’s construction site, which will eventually become a stone-desert. On the other side, the sea, the green shore of Kulosaari, and further away, the forestry shore of Herttoniemi and even further north the Bay of Vanhakapunki. In between them a free and independent oasis, with love—M/S Illusia. When you looked into the west, you saw the so-called hell, and when you mooned it and looked in the east and the northeast, you saw the greenery. It is a pity where the city is going. (Q37:8.)

Not a single responder who mentions anarchism, anti-capitalism, anti-fascism, anti-racism, or anti-sexism, mentions only one of these ‘isms.’ In these cases, squatting emerges as the common nominator. However, despite the frequent mentions in the data, the responders explicated only meagerly how this manifest itself is realized in the activities. Of course, itself, the squatting of the spaces can be seen as anarchism ‘in action’—as the following responder mentions. It is also noted that the responder frames the ideals among the scene participants as various and individual: ‘The uniting factor was creating independent spaces, but behind lay several anarchistic and autonomic motivations.’ (Q55:21.) In some exceptions, the responders have discussed in length how the ideals manifested themselves. The following response concerns t Katu on Punk. The event is an—at least—annual illegitimate street occupation, which includes music performances, other arts, and political manifestations. According to the following responder, the event is organized by an anarchistic organization. They write how the event’s organization is influenced by anarchism, and includes several other political aims:

Katu on Punk [KoP] follows [name of the anarchistic organization removed], which means anarchism, DIY, ecology, direct action, anti-capitalism, and anti-fascism; [name of the anarchistic organization] acts for equality of both human and animal rights. KoP has profiled mainly as a opposition to commercialization and private car use, and the point is to independently take over urban space for the use of (sub)cultures and city dwellers. Away from the cars. KoP is direct political action. (Q16:5.)

As a last note on anarchism, animal rights were mentioned sometimes in connection to anarchism, and many of the responders highlighted the promotion of vegetarian food, and sometimes veganism, in the food cooked and served in spaces.



The last one of the ideals widely discussed ideal in the data is a division inside of DIY culture—the relationship to ‘underground,’ in other words, the amount of exclusivity and secrecy surrounding the spaces, their events, and other activities. One of the respondents brought forth how the collective that functions in Kääntöpöytä was founded with the ideal that underground and DIY could be something that is brought ‘overground,’ in other words, to the ‘mainstream’ and accessible for everyone:

UG [underground] and DIY could be brought "overground"—that the Helsinki electronic music scene and DIY culture would reach wider, would be more receptive, and the reputation of a culture seen as hazy would become more clear. I experienced that in Kääntöpöytä, we succeeded to take the first step towards this direction. (Q64:13.)

However, some of the respondents promoted underground’s role to remain underground and in the margins of the society. The most extreme example of this comes from one responder who left a one-sentence response to the question of what DIY participation means. The responder condemns the whole exhibition project: ‘That it doesn’t belong to be inspected by the large masses in the future. This is not supposed to be presented by a museum. Let underground stay underground.’ (Q51:1.) On the other hand, the idea of underground as something marginal and concealed was a bearing idea behind Lå-bas:

Studio Lå-bas is concealed in the cellar of Kaapelitehdas. It is permanently somewhere "down there" (in French "là-bas"), never "here," always "there," at a distance, and forever underground. (Q56:6.)

### *7.1.3 Problems, Challenges and Setbacks*

Many of the problems with the spaces, or operating in them, were interwoven with the characteristics of the spaces. In this subchapter, the problems, challenges, and setbacks that emerged from the data are divided under four further sub-headers. In the very first sub-header (i) is discussed the scarcity and straight-forward lack of funding, which is also an underlying causal factor for some of the problems the spaces faced. Under the second sub-header (ii), challenges and setbacks the spaces faced are discussed. The theme of the third sub-header is (iii) problems and challenges caused by outside instances—the police, the governmental body and authorities of City of Helsinki or from citizens who did not participate in the DIY spaces—and lastly (iv) problems caused by some of the scene participants themselves. Finally, it is essential to highlight that many of the respondents also stretched that they did not experience any problems, and—for example—the neighbors

greeted the new addition to their district with open arms—maybe even beginning to participate in them.

(i) Scarcity and Lack of Funding

The scarcity—or complete lack—of funding was experienced as a significant problem. Meagerness caused problems both (i) for the existence of the spaces itself and (ii) users of the spaces, especially the event organizers. Many just brought up the scarcity as a problem, but some classified what kind of consequences it caused. First off, the ‘aesthetics of necessity’ (Lowndes 2016, xiv) can be seen as a consequence of the limited means. The following responder describes how their parties in Omenapuutalo and Kääntöpöytä were decorated with found materials: ‘We used several months to plan the party and collected and crafted things to decorate. The budgets were zero, and in everything, we had to use an endless amount of creativity and innovation.’ (Q64:5.) The following quote continues on the poor shape of Omenapuutalo, which also served a purpose—and the low-budget aesthetics:

All of the events were carried out with a very small budget and were self-funded. [--] Omenapuutalo as a space was such that you could build spaces easier: because of the poor shape, you could nail and staple in the constructions. On the other hand, because of the rotten structures, in some parts, nothing stuck. Itself the space was finely mystic, especially the upstairs: full of weird things, closets and dark corners. (Q44:6.)

The lack of funding meant that some of the event organizers worked for free, as volunteers. While some of the events were completely free, others were funded with small entrance fees. The following responder brings forth how this meant that the organizer—albeit being a volunteer—risks their own money by ‘[p]ay the out-of-town band’s travel expenses from your own wallet when there were only ten people in the audience.’ (Q28:23.) Furthermore, sometimes the artists were left without any compensation for their performances—not to even cover for expenses. As the person from Omenapuutalo and Kääntöpöytä states elsewhere in their response, the scarcity of funding meant that they were unable: ‘reward the performers.’ (Q64:28.)

Unsurprisingly, funding was also seen as the reason why some of the spaces were forced to shut down. The following responder highlights how maintaining Vuoritalo would have been such a laborious task and required economic input from the volunteers that it was impossible to upkeep the space:

In the end, maintaining the space would have required such a commitment and economic input that it was not possible with the resources of the people living in the house who were primarily responsible for it. When we were quitting, I don’t think

anyone would have had the possibility to invest the time, money, or resources even if we had the motivation. (Q1:32.)

Likewise, this organizer who speaks from the individual's perspective, brings forth how the lack of money became a burden and was harmful for creative practice: 'Being without money also paralyzes and counting pennies takes too much time and energy, which could be used in creative work.' (Q28:23.)

#### (ii) Challenges Posed by the Spaces' Location, Condition and Insufficient Facilities

In this subchapter, the challenges posed by the spaces and their characteristics—as described in 7.1.1—are discussed. The major challenges of the spaces were their remote location, run-down condition, and lack of facilities. Because located in the urban fringe, some of the spaces were difficult to access. The location caused two logistical problems for events: (i) hauling the required technical equipment and (ii) attracting the audience to a—relatively—faraway location. The hauling of audio-equipment is part of any event—at least the musical instruments are not part of any venues' fixture. Some of the cultural spaces also lacked the audio equipment necessary for a live event such as a PA—albeit being irregularly used or dedicated for DIY.

The responders highlighted that 'roadie's job' was not elevated by some of the spaces distant and relatively inaccessible location. The following responder discusses Pasilan galleria, and the burden of carrying the equipment through nature: 'The B-side was the roadie's job. It's never fun. Especially when you have a van full of stuff, and everything needs to be hauled by hand. In nature locations, the environment makes it even more difficult.' (Q79:13.) Similarly, this person discussing Makamiki and Konttiaukio declares that while organizing an event itself was easy, scraping together the necessary instruments and then transferring them on the spot was difficult. The task was made even more difficult by the ever-changing connections of the space—located midst of a construction site:

Maybe the biggest problem was getting all the equipment to the gigs as the spaces did not have them. In Konttiaukio, the ever-changing surrounding also had an impact as it was difficult to get to the space itself when the environment was being constructed. (Q2:27.)

The remote location of the spaces was also seen to cause a challenge to attract the audience, or for them to simply find the space's location. The accessibility was also seen as a problem for the organizers who struggled to finance the events. An organizer discusses their doubt on how a rave party held in the Elimäenkatu squat would be able to compete

with events closer to the center by saying that '[t]he party was a huge success albeit the competition that weekend and our own bad location' (Q32:8), which reflects their subjective view on the space's poor location. Likewise, this person highlights how—in their experience—Konttiaukio was a less attractive location for the audience, because of its fringe location '[b]ecause the space was not near public transportation, and getting there took an extra effort from the visitors and organizers [--]' (Q4:5.)

Because of the meager funding, some of the—especially squatted—buildings were at the end of their life cycle and in poor condition. The condition of the buildings caused three kinds of problems: (i) concern over the safety of the events, (ii) cumbersome work to make the spaces be safe and appealing for events and (iii) lack, or inadequate, facilities, in other words, building technology (such as plumbing). However, no accidents or even minor mishaps were reported in the data, which reflects that life in the spaces was relatively safe. Of course, it can also be that the responders did not want to 'go down the memory lane' of what they experience as unfortune and grievous. However, Finland does not have a history of, for example, disastrous nightclub fires or in vacant buildings (such as the fires in Great Britain, which led to introducing a fire safety project for the homeless in Birmingham; see BBC.com 2013.) Furthermore, the domestic building stock is relatively firm, because the buildings need to be built heavily in order to counter heat loss in the cold winter. (Vihola, Sorri, Heljo & Kero 2015.)

A person from Omenapuutalo declares that an essential part of organizing events in the space was making sure the space is safe for guests: '[o]ne important part of the preparation was making the space safe for example by lightning the cramped and steep staircase and obstructing access to places where the wooden floor had broken.' (Q44:7.) Some of the responders questioned the spaces' suitability for the relatively large size of the events held in the spaces. Discussing the Elimäenkatu squat, a person who organized a rave in the space says how in retrospect the space seems hazardous with no emergency exists, other safety plan and because of the poor condition of the building: 'I understood only in retrospect how risky the party was (a fire, etc.) It was unclear whether the house would hold the huge audience without collapsing (the house had several cracks).' (Q32:8.) According to one of the responders, the condition of Squat Karku was the reason the space was eventually abandoned. It was deemed too unsafe to be used for events: 'The space's fit was so and so. Sometimes when the people jumped with the music, the constructions moved. That's where event organization in the space ended.' (Q39:12.)

Some responders highlighted how getting the spaces to look suitable for the events was also a cumbersome task. For example, the above responder from Elimäenkatu explains how they needed to clean and decorate the space for their event: ‘We had to clean up the space a lot. I can remember emptying the downstairs (10 meters x 15 meters). It was filled almost to the top with construction waste. Lastly, we vacuumed the space.’ (Q32:7.) Similarly, a person who organized a rave in Sosiaalikeskus Satama declares: ‘Setting the space for the rave took quite a lot of work.’ (Q19:2.) However, the workload caused by the decoration was not limited to buildings. Talking about using Alina-Sali—a room in a student house—for rave parties, a person highlights how difficult it was to embellish it to follow the aesthetics of the subculture:

Alina hall was difficult to resemble a techno den, because it resembled an academic party room (albeit a little ramshackle). In the hall space itself, we always tried to cover the walls with cloth, tarpaulin, camouflage net or gauze. This way, the room’s formality was toned down a bit. (Q12:5.)

The list of facilities some of the spaces lacked includes one or more of the following: a water main, plumbing, electricity, toilets, and (both weather and sound) proofing. Cold weather restricted the use of some of the spaces. To counter the lack of facilities, the DIY practitioners have adapted creatively—fixed the buildings, carried water to the squat, dug a ditch for an electric line, used an aggregate for power, relieved themselves in the nearby nature, peed in the basement (already full of water) and climbed in through the rooftop after the front door got permanently stuck. For events, the small size of some of the spaces and lack of trash bins was also mentioned. However, out of building facilities, the lack, or insufficient number, of toilets emerges as the most salient problem for events. A person behind Karku sums it all up by saying that:

The space would have been maybe a good cafeteria or infoshop in the summers. The winter I can’t even imagine. Without substantial renovation, the space would not have endured many gigs anymore. Living as a vagrant challenged my own participation near the end. Water closets became maybe the single most significant problem. (Q39:17.)

When event production in the spaces was cumbersome, living in a squat was a complete immersion in a full-fledged ‘DIY lifestyle’ living by their means:

Living in the house took a lot of work and maintenance—there was no running water or water closet, we had no money, so we dumpster-dived the food, in the wintertime, washing your clothes began with making the firewood and a hole in the ice. (Q1:12.) (Q1:12.)

(iii) Other citizens, Police and City of Helsinki: Mixed Reactions

The theme of this subchapter is problems caused by outsiders—citizens who did not participate in the spaces, police and City of Helsinki—to the spaces. First is discussed the citizens who did not participate in the spaces. For some citizens, the music of the spaces that carried to residential areas became a nuisance and disturbance. For example, a person from Kääntöpöytä—an outdoor venue located next to railroad tracks in East Pasila—brought forth how a person from West Pasila had been disturbed by music from their event ‘[s]omeone from western Pasila had been disrupted from the level of sound volume.’ (Q64:31.) Konttiaukio did not have problems posed by noise when the space was founded, but concern and complaints from the neighbors began to emerge when the first buildings in the Kalasatama–Sompasaari region were inhabited as is reflected in the following quote: ‘[a]nd you did not need to care about the neighbors before the new apartment houses of Kalasatama were finished near the end of Konttiaukio.’ (Q2:7.) A person behind the project reveals that the new residential area restricted the use of the space—not only because of arisen noise concerns, but because the City of Helsinki redefined its relationship with the space and its funding, which forced the facilitators to shut down the space. However, in the end of the quote the person emphasizes the noise restrictions:

We decided to end it in summer 2014. There were several reasons; the music had to stop at 22, because new houses had been built in the area and we were getting exhausted, the funding was about to change, and the city’s temporal project was coming to an end. If the noise restrictions would not have come, the space could probably have lasted longer. (Q24:14.)

The neighbors caused more than noise complaints. It should be stretched that generally speaking; the neighbors’ reaction was mixed as this response about Vuoritalo brings forth: ‘Varied. Good and bad feedback.’ (Q11:19.) However, the cultural spaces also caused suspicion in the surrounding inhabitants. The following responder wrote a lengthy story of Vuoritalo—located amidst nature, but near a residential area. The response reflects the person’s experience on how the locals were afraid of Vuoritalo, and its practitioners caused concern among the inhabitants:

I remember when I once sat on the rock in front of Vuoritalo, and the local little boys came to talk to me. They told me that they had once seen how someone came with a knife in their hand from Vuoritalo. I think it was most likely one of the actives of the house who was doing maintenance in the house. However, that’s when I realized that some of the locals might have been afraid of Vuoritalo’s attendance. I tried to calm the boys and vaguely recall having assured them that the house’s folk is not "bad." (Q6:17.)

Furthermore, according to some responders, squatting itself as an illegal practice provoked reaction from citizens who oppose it. As one person declares, they was always concerned over violent encounters from outsiders—in this case the extreme right—when organizing events in squats:

Always when organizing an event in any space considered "lefty," I have the thought "is this the time when the nazis throw a nail bomb in the venue." Fortunately, at least thus far, I've avoided similar and way milder incidents. (Q28:22.)

Kumma became a political weapon (or 'politicized') when a political candidate wrote an online comment about the space after seeing a news piece about it. As a consequence, a group of the small non-representative party's members made an unsuccessful attempt to storm the space and filmed it live to the internet: '[Name of the political organization removed] actives came at the yard shouting "junkies out, let's evict the house" and the stream ended up on Youtube.' (Q41:20.) According to the respondents, the space was later attacked by outsiders again: 'The worst everyday threat is the neo-nazis who once kicked in a window, and the local Malminkartano youth once threw a piece of ice from the open window.' (Q41:21.)

The police were also seen too cause some problems to the cultural spaces and their events. However, while the police never reacted 'positively' to the cultural spaces or their users, several instances of 'neutral' responses were brought forth. For example, a responder from Kääntöpöytä tells how after a noise complaint, the police showed up and forced the organizers to turn the—far-reaching—bass frequencies down and let them continue the event for half an hour more. (Q64:31.) Likewise, even after Vuoritalo had been evicted, and the former renters had squatted the space, the police did not disrupt an illegal film festival held in the space:

We hauled an aggregate on the yard and kept a look-out in pairs during events. Some kind of a slip-up happened; hence two police officers stepped in during a document festival. Nevertheless, we got the permission to continue for the day. (Q17:5.)

Concerning Konttiaukio, one responder reckons that it was the space's remote location and overall safety of the area that made it less likely for the police to interfere with the use of the space: 'I believe that the area was simply so far away and behind difficult routes that the police and the city let the activities pass.' (Q66:7.)

Of course, police—as the law enforcer—had only a few choices, but to interrupt events that caused disturbance and noise complaints. However, in two experiences, the

police's reactions were described as unjust and over-the-top. The descriptions resemble the excessive use of force noted by Monti and Purokuru (2018). The first one was in a former warehouse of S-Market. During a squat party, the police demanded to empty the space and threatened to arrest the main organizer. However, the owner of the building did not want the space to be cleared out forcefully, and the rave continued as planned. (Q46:17.) In another—more aggravating—instance regarding a street party in Kallio the police used excessive force and tried to intimidate the organizers into cutting the event short by making false claims of the event exceeding the limits of its permit:

In the beginning, the police's reaction to us was like street squatters, and they tried to interrupt events with whatever excuse. In 2012, ten police officers walked in the festival office and announced that they were altogether 40 and that they had come end the event, because we had not acted according to the contract. Then we went through the guardians of public order (all good), first aid (all good), safety and rescue plan (all good). Afterward, the police let us continue the event. (Q69:4.)

The City of Helsinki's policy towards the spaces can be described as ambivalent and arbitrary. In the data exists several mentions of Helsinki as the enabler and as the constrainer of the spaces. The following quote—about Oranssi's squat in Katajanokka in the 1990s—summarizes the ambiguity: 'We rented the space from the City of Helsinki after a long and cumbersome discussion. The activities ended because of a decision from the city. Out of the way of constructing the residential buildings. So, the city both enabled and threatened the activities.' (Q35:18.) From the data emerges a picture that strengthens this ambiguity. To expand, today, Oranssi receives funding—among other sources—from the City of Helsinki. Konttiaukio was also funded by the city, which—according to one of the responders—was also ready to turn a blind eye on the neglect of event notifications and safety regulations in the space's events:

Overall the festival went well every year, and both the performers and the audience enjoyed themselves. The events in Konttiaukio were not "official," you did not request a permit or make safety- and fireplans, and there were no dedicated guardians of public order. (Q27:15.)

On the other hand, Kohtuukäyttöklubi was squatted because the effort to rent out the space was made difficult, or impossible, by what seems like a structural problem in Helsinki's Tilakeskus: 'I tried to rent the space from the city's Tilakeskus, but they were not at all willing to co-operate—even getting in touch with the right person seemed like an impossible task.' (Q46:15.) We have also discussed the case of Vuoritalo that was first rented, and later squatted. A person from Vuoritalo sheds light on how the lease was annulled after the official responsible for the area changed: 'We had to officially give up the



house when the building inspector changed (the portable toilet-outhouse -systems and fire safety did not please the new official.’ (Q11:6.)

Helsinki’s ambivalent policy towards squatting, and DIY culture overall, is further bolstered by a response from a person from Squat Kumma. The following responder’s quote seems to indicate that it is up to a squatter’s luck on which city official they reach—and this person’s sympathies with squatters and DIY culture—that determines the outcome of an effort to rent a vacant space from the city. According to the responder, the space was rented—after squatting—when the organizing group was in direct contact with Helsinki’s deputy mayor Anni Sinnemäki. However, the personnel of Tilakeskus have continued to threaten the existence of the space: ‘Due to the deputy mayor Anni Sinnemäki, the activities were possible for a long time. Tilakeskus is always a threat because the management is hostile.’ (Q41:21.)

#### (iv) Problems Caused by Scene Participants

It is not solely ‘outside’ forces that the responders mentioned to cause problems. The scene participants were also seen to cause problems that were related to (i) the social dynamics and disagreements and implementations of ideals in the scene and (ii) disorderly conduct—bad behavior, violence, and sexual harassment—by some scene participants. Some of the problems related to (i) social dynamics are quite ‘natural’ problems related to social interaction—such as ingroup bias and disagreements. Some of the responders highlighted how the DIY spaces felt excluding—albeit their aspiration for the opposite (see chapters 7.1.2.i and ii). Speaking in general of several spaces, the following responder highlights how they felt anxious in going to a space for the first time and felt ‘lesser’ compared to the other scene participants for a long time: ‘When I was younger, going to a new place stressed the hell out me when there was no friends ready. I have always experienced to be welcome, but not always to be equivalent with others.’ (Q28:16.) Likewise, the experience of a rave organizer was that the only reason their group was allowed to organize a party in a squat was because some of the organizers knew some of the squatters personally: ‘We asked from [name of the organization removed] whether we could throw a party in the space. Probably because we knew some of the squat activists personally, we got permission from the "house meeting."’ (Q32:6.)

Some of the disagreements between the participants were almost mundane—quarrels were born about chores and other everyday occurrences. For example, discussing their experience of organizing a street party in Kallio, a person responds how the effort also

meant arguments among the organizers: ‘We achieved something truly great together. On the other hand, when doing together, there are always differences, which causes harm to the activities.’ (Q43:20.) One of the responders also notes how disagreement about the division of labor caused frustration and an experience of being left out: ‘[t]he unequal division of common tasks caused frustration, which resulted in a feeling being an outsider.’ (Q1:28.) Furthermore, the arguments were not restricted to the ‘inner group’ of the spaces, but the scene overall. A responder highlights how the organization of gigs caused work not only for the ‘outside’ organizers, but for the space’s practitioners as a busy calendar means demands keeping in touch with a lot of organizers and scheduling. However, rules imposed by the space did not go down well with all of the outsiders: ‘At some point, we created rules and deadlines for the booking of gigs so that there would be enough time between announcements and the event. These deadlines and restrictions irritated some organizers.’ (Q18:11.)

Some of the arguments were heavier and hindered the operation of the spaces itself. These were rooted in differing ideals of the scene participants (see chapter 7.1.2.ii). Speaking of Sosiaalikeskus Satama, the following responder brings forth how there existed a variety of different understandings of the spaces’ meaning and ideals among the organizational group, which led to disputes and arguments that hindered decision making:

The house meetings were enormously long, even three hours, and in them, all kinds of details were fought over. Disagreement existed for sure when people tried to mold the space into what they wished it to be. Organization and co-operation was, therefore, delicate and shaggy, and things did not advance with optimal speed. (Q18:5.)

The aspiration to equity or anti-hierarchy caused also problems amidst the organizers. The person highlights how the attempt to a vertical and openly governed group became counter-productive and acted against itself by creating invisible power structures:

The democratic house meetings were a cautionary example of how much one can talk and not get things done when following equal decision making. When power and response were not distributed officially to anyone, they were distributed informally and not always to the same people. It was even more challenging to grasp invisible power structures than visible. (Q55:2.)

The other major problem that stems from scene participants themselves is different forms of disorderly conduct—rowdiness, violence, and sexual harassment. Misbehavior is usually connected with excessive use of alcohol. A short notice on mentions of illegitimate intoxicants in the data: The only reference to these is a passing remark of syringes that were found outside of Siperia, but the undersigned has witnessed the use of a variety of legal and illegal substances being consumed in some cultural spaces during music events. A further

note on the extent of disorderly conduct comes from the data—several responders emphasized the rarity of severe disorderly conduct, but also that excessive drinking was in some spaces relatively regular and caused problems in itself. For example, this person talks about a night in Siperia when a person was so under the influence that the person caused anxiety in other participants and was later removed from the space: ‘Mainly good. [--] At some party in Siperia was also a narcotic’s user who caused fear. I remember that we were able to evict the person from the space. In Vuoritalo, we took care of each other, and I can’t recall larger problems existing.’ (Q40:15.)

Some of the responders blamed the young age—and inexperience—of the participants as the reason for misbehavior. Again, amplified by excessive drinking. Discussing Vuoritalo, a responder states that: ‘The problem was maybe the earlier mentioned disruptive behavior, usually caused by intoxicants. Maybe also the fact that most of the actives were around their twenties, and there was not always enough life experience to understand what is right and what is wrong.’ (Q6:16.) Likewise, a person from Oranssi, who was an adult in the period under reminiscence, sees the events organized solely by the youth as the most problematic: ‘General chaos was most in the gigs that were organized entirely by the youth without any responsible adult around. Sometimes I had to hide the underaged participants’ beers from the police when their own understanding in the situation was not enough.’ (Q42:13.)

Violence is mentioned twice in the data and in both cases the scene participants stepped up as self-regulators to stop the unwanted behavior and remove the perpetrators from the space. Talking about Sosiaalikeskus Satama, the person notes how one night, a fight broke out between scene participants the responder recognizes and considers as ‘outsiders.’ Finally, they bring forth how rumors of similar occurrences in Sosiaalikeskus Satama—while at the same time asserting that in two other squats, Siperia and Rajatila, no similar problems existed:

The squat in Kalasatama also attracted people from the local surroundings with major problems with intoxicants. Their behavior reflected in other people. Also, there were a couple of persons who began to fight outside, but the situation was de-escalated quickly. The fact that the space was open for all also attracted people who did not have a constructive view on that everyone would have a safe space to be in or that they would have shared the values of the space. I heard that there were problems also outside of the events. Concerning Siperia and Rajatila, I have not heard of such a thing. (Q73:20.)

In the following quote, the person speaks about Siperia's events in general. According to the responder, violence and other disorderly conduct were bound to certain kinds of scenes.

Furthermore, these scenes were obstructed from organizing further events in the space:

It depended on the event. Some were chaos and hell and syringes on the yard and fights and overdoses, and these peoples gigs we did not want again. Others were nice and positive, like [names of the bands removed] gigs, which we regularly had. It depended on the music style and scene. (Q55:27.)

Sexual harassment is also mentioned in the data. According to the responders, in cases of harassment, the self-regulation practices were more dire. Instead of removing the persons from the space, the persons were banned from the premises. A person tells about an incident in Siperia: 'There was sexual harassment in some party in Siperia, which we interfered later on by banning the persons.' (Q40:15.) A similar case took place in Kumma where there were two perpetrators—who were part of organizing an event in the space—and were consequentially banned from the space: 'Singular cases of misconduct by drunken middle-aged hetero men (one organizer and one musician did not know how to respect the house's principles, so we were forced to ban them).' (Q41:9.)

## 7.2 Alternative Cultural Spaces, Scenes and Scene Participants

In this chapter, we turn our analytical eye to the social and cultural aspect of scenes subcultures. In the first subchapter 7.2.1 is discussed the space's roles under three sub-headers. The three research questions that are answered here are: (i) What is the role of alternative cultural spaces for scenes and subcultures? (ii) What are the socio-cultural implications of DIY activities and how does participation foster the scenes' social mixing and 'cross-fertilization'? (iii) How do the DIY spaces influence the overall cultural fields of Helsinki? In the second subchapter 7.2.2 participation's influence on the individual scene participants is discussed. The chapter follows a three-fold form by answering the questions: (a) What is participation in alternative cultural spaces and DIY culture seen to have meant for the participant in their youth? What is the meaning of DIY participation in different life phases and how has it seen to influence one's worldview and identity? (b) What kind of learning takes place in the spaces and what are its implications for scene participants later occupational lives? (c) What kind of reasons do the scene participants give for the decline or end of their DIY activities?

### 7.2.1 *Alternative Cultural Spaces, Scenes and DIY Culture*

#### (i) Facilitating Scenes and Fostering Subcultures

Music made by DIY scenes is often subcultural and marginalized within the music industry. A small community makes it for a specific niche audience and its economic profitability is limited. (See, for example, Thornton 1995; Lowndes 2016.) Some of the responders highlighted how the alternative cultural spaces are crucial for the scenes and the associated subcultures as the spaces allow organizing DIY music events. This responder reflects Omenapuutalo's role for alternative and subcultural music overall in Helsinki:

The urban activist [name of the person removed] made possible renting Omenapuutalo for independent DIY music events. He should be thanked for advancing several small and marginalized subcultures indirectly, for sure. It is almost impossible to find space for any culture that pushes the boundaries of the rules and conventions. (Q64:44.)

Likewise, this respondent reflects the meaning of Casa Academica for the Helsinki rave scene and concludes the space's uniqueness and significance to be the fact that it permits organizing unusually large events other spaces do not:

Casa Academica was in a relatively significant role as a venue of UG-electronic music parties in Helsinki during the 2000s. [--] for the electronic music audience, it was significant because there were several events, and they were unusually large. (Q14:6.)

Another rave enthusiast writes about Alina hall, which is a similar space to Casa Academica. It is spacious, which is reflected in a higher number of sold tickets, and therefore made organizing other events economically possible: 'Successful Alina-events have made possible also other events that include larger economic risks.' (Q15:10.)

Likewise, a responder from Siperia brings forth how the space gave a platform for Finnish hip hop in the early 2000s when the genre was only in the process of gaining ground (Mikkonen 2004): '[I] witnessed mainly rap-gigs. You have to remember that rap made in Finnish was still marginal at the time, except for a few bigger names.' (Q77:10.)

The spaces were not important solely as spaces for performances. Speaking of Vuoritalo, this responder highlights the space's informality and semi-illegitimate role as significant for the scene overall, because it permitted DIY participation on the scene's terms. Notice also how the person binds the space's existence to a time after the major alternative culture venue Lepakkaluola had been demolished, which implicitly suggests a shortage of subcultural spaces:

A bit older punks rented Vuoritalo after the wake of Lepakko. Gigs had been organized in bars earlier, but it was difficult, because we were always under the arbitrary rule of

barkeepers, and the underaged were barred entrance. Moreover, naturally, the poor wanted to bring their own booze. [--] Vuoritalo had a great communal feel and DIY spirit. A lot of gigs around the world [name of the band removed], friends from wherever! (Q11:28.)

The same quote continues by highlighting the space's facilities for not only performing, but also rehearsing music: ' [d]ownstairs were rehearsal rooms and upstairs the playing equipment [--].' (Q11:6.)''

(ii) Communal DIY Activities, Social Mixing and Socio-Cultural Cross-Fertilization of Scenes

According to Lowndes (2016, xiv), DIY activities are often seen by the scene participants as collective initiatives targeted at the DIY community. Straw (1991) emphasizes cultural and social cross-fertilization among music scenes. The results presented in this subchapter reinforce Lowndes claim, but also expand on how the activities foster the social mixing and reorganization of scenes—cross-fertilization—to new organizational groups that might then relocate their activities to new locations. Many of the responder's highlighted the communal aspect of DIY activities. The responses can be divided into both (i) self-purposeful communality where sociality is a value in itself and (ii) to communality out of necessity—mostly related to the workload of event organization. It is emphasized that these do not need to be viewed as somehow mutually excluding characteristics of the activities.

From the point of view of point (i) above, several responses cherished the social meaning of the organizational activities, for example, the following person sums them as '[w]istful, good, best, euphoric, vivid...feelings of friendship, connection and meaningfulness...' (Q46:22.) Likewise, the following quote brings forth how event planning itself was self-purposefully social: 'We planned the parties for a long time and reverently. Itself the planning process and acting together became meaningful and strengthened the communality of the group.' On the other hand, speaking of point (ii) above, many of the responders highlighted how event organization necessities work from several persons. The last cited responder continues in the following citation. They states that a smaller group did the planning of events, but during the setup, the group was helped by friends, because of the workload:

Itself building the party was carried out in around ten hours (picking up and hauling stuff and equipment with a van, constructing the different spaces and installations, lightning). At the site were both our collective's members and three to four part-time helpers. (Q44:8.)

Here a person from La-Bàs recalls how there was never enough supporting personnel in the organizational group: ‘I participated in everything that has to do with organizing an event, sometimes I did everything alone; usually it was with a small friend group, there was never enough hands.’ (Q56:12.)

The organizational group consisted of a variety of individuals and their acquaintances. Together they created a ‘web’ of relevant skills and knowledge, and a pool of volunteers to rely on. This person discussing Siperia explains how they gathered the required personnel for different tasks for events through their vast networks:

[--] there were often five to ten performers per weekend. Somehow, we were still able to find the ticket sellers, barkeepers, cleaners, roadies, and sound equipment. Today, the idea of a similar stretch seems impossible, voluntarily for a couple of years. On the other hand, at the time, there were many actors. (Q55:15.)

Discussing participation in several spaces overall, this informant states how the organization group often fulfills each other’s skills: ‘The actors are often friends with each other, and people know others’ strengths and weaknesses, and can demand and ask things from each other accordingly.’ (Q28:18.)

Some of the responses also highlight how DIY activities in certain spaces created ‘spontaneous’ communality by drawing in and mixing actors from several scenes, which was seen to lead new groups of DIY practitioners to be formed. As one responder states when discussing Konttiaukio and Makamiki: ‘Acting in an independent space often also creates new communities and connects people interested in the same things [--]’ (Q2:22.) Likewise, a person from Là-Bas brings forth how the space acted as a hub where different scenes ‘cross-fertilized’:

The time was favorable, philosophically put, in Helsinki happened a fruitful perichoresis of culture fields. A lot of the scenes penetrated and fed into each other. Studio Là-bas in Kaapelitehdas was one of the junctions of this flow. (Q56:8.)

The following responder’s accounts about Vadelma shed light on the potential of this cultural cross-fertilization to create new subcultural forms and groups of practitioners. In the free-form remembrance, the responder explains how the space was first put together by a group of creative practitioners that then attracted new participants:

The space was initially put together by Vadelma’s core group that consisted of around 15 musicians and artists, and after the space was set up, new blood began to come along (many students from [name of the art school removed], art-making punks and hippies, bands and musicians, video artists and photographers and so on.) (Q15:10.)

When these practitioners began to participate in the same activities and events, they have the potential to create *en masse* new forms of culture and events—as the plural activities mentioned in the following quote brings forth. Notice also how the responder sees the space as the key for feeding the co-creativity of the scene:

[Q]uite many participated in the planning and implementation of the Vadelma clubs and festivals. Also, a writing circle was born, where people gathered together to read their texts out loud. Vadelma UNI—an open performance collective that made performances, videos, improvisation, and puppet animations. Random Doctors—a VJ collective, which made video-actions in the urban space and visuals in Vadelma's events. The film club of Vadelma where we watched artistic or otherwise interesting films, music documentaries and short films. Co-operative creativity was essential for Vadelma's existence, and the space was central in it. (Q15:1.)

Furthermore, participating in the alternative cultural spaces created overarching connections between local scenes. As one responder brings forth, they were accustomed to participating in Oranssi's events even from outside of Helsinki: 'As an out-of-towner, I hitchhiked to Oranssi [--].' (Q35:7.) Similarly, Vuoritalo attracted out-of-towners. The following responder recalls traveling from Kouvola to play a show with their band. Furthermore, the responder brings forth picking up influences on how the space was run, which were later implemented in their local setting in Kouvola when establishing an alternative cultural space in the City:

It was the first time when we played in Helsinki, and the enthusiastic atmosphere gave self-confidence when "they liked us in Helsinki," and nowadays, I've played hundreds of gigs. The political atmosphere of the space encouraged to carry with societal activities. A couple of years later, we began to make arrangements for a space in Kouvola, an independent music and cultural space [name of the space removed]. Our example was Vuoritalo, "if they can do it Helsinki, sure can we succeed." [name of the space removed] has been active now over 13 years. (Q26:10.)

Vuoritalo also hosted international punk bands from Europe, but also as far as China. Several responders recalled its international connections. One respondent summed the space's users by saying that 'People came from the footing of the house, across the globe and everywhere in between.' (Q11:5.) Others highlighted solely the international connections such as the following:

Bands came across Europe, and even from China. As an interesting side note, I could mention that the Chinese [name of the band removed] visit in the space lead to a mention of Vuoritalo in the book Insider's *Guide to Beijing*! (Q25:7.)

However, the undersigned can confirm that international—as well as national—music acts and other artists, have been on the line-up of several of the spaces. The fact that Vuoritalo's international connections were only represented in the data can be explained with the punk



subculture's emphasis on global communication (see, for example, Dunn 2008; see also chapter 7.1.1 on Vuoritalo's intense relationship with punk). From the viewpoint of oral history, this could also be explained by the fact that having international visitors is a meaningful event to be remembered. (Portelli 1981.)

(iii) DIY Culture's Spread to New Locations

A consequence of the 'cross-fertilization' of scenes—and new subcultural forms—is the spread of DIY culture to new sites beyond their initial breeding ground. Recalling their participation in Konttiauukio and Makamiki overall, this person brings forth how they was influenced by both of the spaces' scenes, which has been reflected in subsequent event organizations: 'I feel that I got inspiration from both of the spaces for further event organization, which has continued in different spaces and events.' (Q2:26.) The practitioners can be said to have divided in several directions with no unambiguous 'direction.' As this responder brings forth, after Vuoritalo was evicted and the squatting parties had come to an end, some of its participants began to organize events in a bar while others began to organize a free and politically motivated street party (or street occupation):

Some began to organize gigs [name of the bar and identifying information removed], and some began to plan [a squatting event; name removed]. Of course, the division was not unambiguous, in [name of the bar] was at least one support gig for [name of the squatting event]. I visited [the bar] and sold tickets on gig nights. (Q11:6.)

Likewise, a person from Karku highlights how the squat fostered squatting in Helsinki for years to come: 'a communal spirit was created that fostered squatting for years to come.' (Q39:7.) On a similar note, Là-bas formed a parallel, rotating club that has been organized in various formal and commercial locations in Helsinki during the 2010s. It is highlighted the club therefore spread to become a part of the more established culture field of Helsinki: 'In the 2010s, Là-bas events concentrated on international festivals in art museums and other larger spaces in Helsinki [--].' (Q56:10.)

### 7.2.2 *Alternative Cultural Spaces and Individual Scene Participants*

#### (i) Entrance to DIY Culture, 'The DIY Phase' and Impact on Identity

Some participants brought forth how the alternative cultural spaces acted as a 'gateway' to DIY culture; in other words, as the spaces where they took part in DIY for the very first time. The following responder brings forth how Vuoritalo was the first space where they got an active role in the scene: 'In Vuoritalo rehearsed my first bands. In the rehearsal rooms put together in its garages, we recorded our first demo.' (Q1:11.) Likewise, another responder highlights how local youth from Vuoritalo's neighborhood have recalled becoming punks due to participating in the Vuoritalo scene: 'Local teens from Käpylä were also attracted to the space, later some said that they became punks because of Vuoritalo.' (Q11:6.)

However, above all, the responders experienced the initial discovery of DIY and the scene—often in their adolescence years—as meaningful and salient for their identity formation, because the scene and the interconnected subculture provided them with a relatable social group, in which they experienced to belong. A responder states how organizing events with other scene participants in Kupoli was 'very meaningful' (Q33:11.) Similarly, this responder brings forth how the experience of participating and being part of the tradition of punk and squat subcultures was meaningful for them: 'Also the feeling that I was part of the historical and international punk- and squat-culture felt meaningful.' (Q1:24.) Discussing their participation to Sosiaalikeskus Satama, this responder sums up the experience of finding the group they felt 'at home' with:

I felt that I was in the right place and with people I considered as my "own," doing something meaningful, concrete and real. I believe that the social reference group Satama offered, and the agendas that go together with mine, were very important for my so-called spiritual growth and finding myself and my "place." (Q18:14.)

For some responders, this sense of belonging was supplemented with an experience of being different from the general culture. This sense of difference reflects the subculture theory's emphasis on collective differentiation and distinctive social groups (see chapters 4.1.1–4.1.3.) but highlights the participant's own sense of being different. In the following quotes, the responder's also highlight how the alternative cultural spaces functioned as spaces where they could feel comfortable and unaffected by this sensation. A person from Là-bas says how the space was the only one where they did not feel to be an outsider:

As a youngster [identifying information removed], the only places in Helsinki and Finland where I did not feel as an outsider, was my own space when there was an event going on. Our studio, with its parties, was the space to be for the undersigned. (Q56:18.)

Likewise, this person discussing Vuoritalo highlights how they experience the space to have been, both for responder and responder's peer group (aged 18–24-years at the time), an unique opportunity to participate in DIY activities and socialize together, which the official Youth Division of Helsinki or ELMU ry (short for Elävän musiikin yhdistys, a live music organization that ran the venue Nosturi from 1999–2019 and which allowed also minors in events; see Halonen 2019) was not able to provide:

Even though the setting was meager, it was great that we got, in addition to a rehearsal space, a place where we could be without cost and act freely without someone from the outside setting the rules. We did not experience Nosturi or the spaces of Nuorisosaainkeskus as our own when we were younger. (Q6:7.)

Some of the responders highlighted how they underwent a period in their adolescence when their DIY participation was at its peak, DIY culture experienced as pronouncedly important and the participants' identity inseparably connected to it. The following responder recalls this 'phase' when they was organizing experimental music events by saying: 'Organizing a club in the early 2000s was a major part of my identity. The experimental underground scene felt like my "own" thing and a lot more cool than pretty much anything else.' (Q3:8.) The experience is shared by this responder, who states: 'Back then, organizing parties was the most important thing of my life. It *was* my life.' (Q46:20; emphasis original.) The following two responders bring forth how full-fledged and committed the immersion to DIY was in this phase. In the first quote is recalled DIY participation overall: 'Music was a lifestyle and hanging around in these places was also a lifestyle. It was more than leisure. We thought that working made hanging out with bands and having our own band possible.' (Q50:24.) This responder writes solely from the perspective of *Là-Bas*:

It meant everything that I did as a young [identifying information removed] when I should have been doing something entirely else and more useful, and what is from the contemporary perspective what I did back then, if I did anything for that matter. Back then it was at the same time work, leisure, theory and pragmatics—an enjoyment, lifestyle and almost a religion: from event to event, from performance to performance, in the eye of the storm on the dirty floor connecting wires without a thought on any other compensation, but the space and the situation itself. (Q56:27.)

At least for some of the responders, the meaning and influence of the phase have been long-lasting. This is true for: (i) Those who have separated from the scene; and to (ii) those who continue to participate in DIY. In the following quote, a person discussing event

organization in Kupoli states how they still long for a chance to participate in organizing events, but without the social connections to cultural spaces—unlike during their student years—is unable to:

[I] miss a chance to organize such events from the same ideological starting point. Unfortunately, there does not exist suitable open spaces in Helsinki, at least not ones I've been able to participate. (Q33:11.)

Similarly, this person—who explicitly says to have separated from DIY scene and practices—sees that their worldview is more sympathetic towards urban culture than without going through the DIY phase:

It is difficult to say what has been the meaning of these things to my identity. Maybe I can see the grassroots and give value to similar initiatives, although I'm not even barely participating anymore. From a societal point of view, I think that there could be more free and uncommercial space in the city. (Q76:9.)

For the responders who still participate in scenes and DIY, the DIY phase is—obviously—a meaningful part of their identity. This person highlights how their stint in Siperia guided the person in activism: 'I don't think I would ever have gotten into "activism" if I had not visited Siperia in 2003.' (Q40:12.) Likewise, the following responder cherishes their past DIY participation as the route to their current occupation as an internationally touring artist. In the very end of the quote, the responder highlights how despite 'growing out' of the DIY scene, they still cherish the participation and sees that—at least occasional—participation will continue:

I'm not even gonna go into how making my own UG-music and putting together self-published recordings has later led into playing, those things that as a 20-year-old felt so important, around the world :) Now when I'm old, there's more things in my life as life experience has made it more prosperous and broader, but at the time I was pretty much living that life. The last time I played a semi-UG-party the other night in Tiivistämö, so I can't see myself getting away from the music, and fortunately I don't have to :) (Q48:19.)

Some remarks of the responders also indicate that the subjective experience of being different and not belonging continues for some after the DIY phase. The following responder highlights how they began to feel a sense of belonging only at the age of 27 'Maybe at 27-years old; I began to feel a part of the community and not just an outsider.' (Q28:16.) The following person says that their scene participation has continued, but life changed since participating in Vuoritalo: 'I go to punk gigs now and then [--], but my lifestyle is quite different than at the time.' (Q6:14.) Then the person continues about how

they nevertheless experience to be different and still as an adult an outsider among the ‘general culture’:

I could still say that acting in Vuoritalo and the punk scene has influenced my world view a lot, for instance, my political values. Furthermore, I have preserved a mentality that not everything needs to be so tiptop. I also notice that when I’ve lived half of my life in places where you can repair broken things creatively with junk, paste the walls with pictures of Riitta Väisänen [a celebrity; miss Finland 1976] and eat dumpster-dived food from a dirty floor wearing grandma’s old underskirt, I can feel—for example in an office job—like I don’t really belong in with the crowd and as if I’m undercover. Although at times I’ve battled with a small identity crisis, I still see that it’s mainly a great richness when I’ve been able to live such a diverse life, see so much and spend time with such different people. (Q6:14.)

## (ii) Accumulating Professional Skills and Developing Careers

Several scholars have drawn attention to how DIY activities and scene participation generate skills, knowledge, and social relationships that can be harnessed both in further DIY practices as well as occupational aspirations (see chapter 2.1). The formation of ‘DIY careers’ was also reflected in the responses of this study. The fact that the alternative cultural spaces’ operation principles were permissive and encouraging was seen to make ‘on the spot’ learning—learning by trial and error—possible. The learning method is described in clarity by the following responder. The person explains how the Suvilahti DIY Skatepark—that doubles as a music venue irregularly—was constructed:

Soon after the snow had melted, we began to build a concrete skatepark with around ten actives. The aim was, not more or less, to learn at the same time to learn the craft of concrete building and share this know-how to a large group as possible... We had no earlier experience from concrete work, so everything was new, often learning the hard way. (Q13:2.)

The following responder also states how in Konttiaukio people were learning the craft of event organization: ‘It was possible to experiment, fail and learn event organizing in Konttiaukio. Quickly it formed a springboard and home for dozens of uncommercial actors, mainly music event organizers.’ (Q54:5.)

However, because DIY represents ‘bottom-up’ initiatives, it teaches more than the necessary practical skills. The following informant discusses DIY participation in general and says how the activities are based on volunteering and a will to participate: ‘[I]n my eyes, the complete volunteer-basis of the activities influences the atmosphere good. If you don’t feel like organizing, no one is forcing you!’ (Q28:18.) Some of the responders highlighted how DIY taught them agency—to take the initiative and actively participate in creating the scene and the subculture. This responder recalls their years in Vuoritalo:

Vuoritalo was the first place where I learned to take the initiative of maintaining my own subculture and do work for it, instead of being as a sole audience member. [--] Vuoritalo had, therefore, a highly emancipating influence in my personal life, with it I developed from a consumer to an active actor. (Q1:11.)

Similarly, a person from Oranssi and Konttiaukio's background organization brings forth how the activities have fostered the growth of agency among the participating youth:

Maybe the biggest thing for me has been to learn and notice how young urban culture activists can do marvelous things independently and without too much of warding. Giving responsibility leads to carrying the responsibility independently. (Q38:7.)

The activities and spaces influence on identity was discussed in more length under the previous sub-header, but it should be noted that some of the respondents emphasized the long-lasting meaning of the skills they acquired in the scene for their later careers. Many of the responders have benefited from their skills in both DIY and professional contexts. For example, a promoter and urban activist sums up their participation by saying '[i]t influenced a lot of what I do now, and can do.' (43:28.) Likewise, this person highlights how a stint in squat Karku taught them the basics of event organization, which the responder has put to use in further squats:

I was quite young back then, so I didn't partake in the technical implementation of the gigs. In the later squatted sites of Helsinki, I was already more experienced, and I could participate in organizing the gigs. (Q39:8.)

Similarly, a person who states to have made 'a profession of organizing events' (Q69:9) explicates how their participation in organizing street parties taught the informant what seems to be all aspects of the trade:

I learned pretty much everything about producing events, what it takes, what kinds of things should be taken into account, how the permit process is done, how to get funding, how volunteers are lead, what kind of prices you get when money is not paid. (Q69:19.)

### (iii) The Diminish of the 'DIY Phase' and Separations from the Scene

Some of the respondents highlighted how their participation in DIY had either (i) lessened or (ii) ended altogether. In light of later life, the two 'routes' are almost opposite, and the reasons behind the decision differ. (i) The responders who had not opted out completely from DIY participation, but lessened their organizational activities significantly, reported as the reason challenges and other setbacks encountered in DIY activities. They offered two kinds of explanations: (a) challenges with the activities or (b) the shut-down of space in which they were acting. Some of those who experienced challenges with DIY participation

brought up the laboriousness of organizing events. The following responder discusses organizing events in general:

I began to be more interested in making my own music rather than organizing gigs for others, and I had maybe been the locomotive of the activities. [name of the person removed] enthusiasm began to decline, and locus point move towards other things. It was not a sudden decision, but a slow fade. (Q3:10.)

Similarly, a person who organized annual raves in Omenapuutalo says how: After the event of 2017, there was the feel in the air that we wouldn't have the energy to organize a party next year.' (Q44:14.)

(b) Others explained that they were 'forced' to diminish their participation after a space was shut down, or its use had become too difficult. A person from Vuoritalo says how the annulation of the space's lease (for details see chapters 7.1.1 and 7.1.3.iii) was the first blow for their active participation, and the last blow was when the space was shut down for good (and the space demolished):

I went to gigs until the end, but I don't recall having an active role after the lease was annulled. My most active input must have been in the beginning when the space was constructed. My participation ended when activities in the space ended. (Q25:16.)

Similarly, the person who in the above paragraph stated that a certain feeling of getting tired was in the air, says how Omenapuutalo for event organizers<sup>12</sup> was the last nail to their event's coffin:

Also, renting Omenapuutalo was no longer possible and other spaces we had looked into felt, at least to me, bland and that they did not have the same atmosphere and possibilities for modifying so that they would have worked with the continuum of our events. (Q44:14.)

However, in both instances above, the responders continue to participate in DIY elsewhere. For others (ii), their time with the scene came to an end. In these cases, the reasoning was changes in their life circumstances related to aging. The following responder says that their participation came to an end, because their career as a musician took off, and there was no energy or time for event organization:

A couple of years ago, I began to play my own gigs so much that between gig trips, I did not have the energy to organize gigs for others. Especially if I needed to sustain a day job in addition to my gigs. (Q28:14.)

The following responder highlights moving out of Helsinki as the reason for their participation coming to an end. However, the person brings out also getting exhausted with

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<sup>12</sup> The City of Helsinki annulled the lease on the space's renter who had subleased the space for events. (Q64:32.)

the activities. Furthermore, they states how their immediate social group began to also separate from the scene:

I got generally tired, and my own close social circles began to move to the university and get children. I was moving to north to study when Siperia burned in June 2016. It had gotten too chaotic. To a degree, the use of intoxicants in the space and the events got out of hand. (Q55:20.)

Likewise, for this responder, the separation from the scene took place after coming of age, which enabled other forms of recreative practices. They sees that this guided their life to a different kind of direction. The responder also sees having a child at an early age to have guided them away from scene participation. However, their affection to younger scenes has remained intact—or at least been re-ignited with the 2010s scene:

Maybe when I turned 18 and got into bars, it felt a bit fresher for a couple of years. I also got a child as a 20-year-old, which took me to a different direction. Also, the music field felt to be getting more professional at one point. Only the late 2010s UG techno scene has been a return to a similar form of doing things. (Q77:14.)

## 8 Conclusion and Discussion: Alternative Cultural Spaces or ‘DIY Enclaves’?

### 8.1 Summary and Discussion of the Research Results

In the analysis presented above, we have first discussed 34 of Helsinki’s alternative cultural spaces and, in the second part, looked at the interplay between the spaces and the DIY scenes and scene participants. In the first two subchapters 8.1.1 and 8.1.2 of this final chapter, the results of the study are summarized and their implications to previous research discussed. In chapter 8.2, a conceptual suggestion of ‘DIY enclaves’ is made. The conceptual suggestion aims to avoid the presentation of DIY as something solely ‘alternative,’ ‘oppositional’ or ‘resistant’ inherent in the concept ‘alternative cultural space.’ The concept is also suggested as an addition in the toolboxes of urban planners and cultural policy. To better take into consideration the bottoms-up initiatives of Helsinki—or any other metropolitan area. In chapter 8.3, known methodological restrictions of the study are presented. The conclusion ends with chapter 8.4 and suggestions on future research.

#### *8.1.1 What are Alternative Cultural Spaces?*

What are the DIY music scenes’ informal and uncommercial alternative cultural spaces in Helsinki in the 21st century? They are dedicated buildings, rooms and halls in larger complexes, outdoor venues, and even a ship that has been used for a countless number of music and other cultural events. They have been governed in various ways in various



instances. Some of them have been squatted while others have been rented, and some have been simply asked for use. Some are funded privately, others by organizations, and some by the City of Helsinki. Based on the analysis, we can give reinforcement to Lowndes (2016) argument that in order to thrive, DIY culture needs to partner with either public or private institutions that provide stability (Lowndes 2016, 263). In the analysis, continuum and longevity was achieved by the rare spaces and organization that had secured funding. Often the lifetime of the alternative cultural spaces has been short-term—lasting from a day to a maximum of five years.

Mostly the spaces are located in the fringe areas of Helsinki's city center and its immediate proximity. Some of the spaces did exist in northern, western, and especially eastern Helsinki. They are often located at a distance—more than 500 meters—from urban cores. Some of the spaces' location embedded them in broader cultural infrastructure. However, mainly their geographical sites are urban fringe—redevelopment areas, public utility zones, and remote locations amidst residential and nature areas. The spaces are in varied condition. Many of the buildings are old and have been in a poor, even decayed condition. Lowndes also presents how the spaces often share a particular aesthetic that is defined by restricted resources such as found objects and makeshift solutions (Lowndes 2016, xiv), but according to the analysis, also subcultural symbols, political manifestations, graffiti and other forms of art. While this might not be self-purposeful, together, the elements differentiate the spaces from the broader urban landscape and form a recognizable 'DIY aesthetic.'

Above all, the spaces have served as venues for live music. However, they have hosted a variety of other activities. The spaces have hosted a variety of musical genres, and only in the case of Vuoritalo, it can be said with determination that the space was mostly dedicated to one genre, punk. However, punk and EDM were pronouncedly common genres in the spaces, which has been interpreted to reflect the genres' intense relationship with DIY ethos. In their everyday life, the spaces follow—at least in some aspects—'DIY operating principles' that consist of three overlapping components: (i) low-threshold, (ii) open doors, and (iii) inclusivity. The aim of the principles is two-fold: (a) to encourage and able DIY participation from a social and economic point of view and (b) to create a social atmosphere where everyone feels welcome and safe. Behind DIY participation lies a variety of ideologies that are akin to the left-wing of the political left-to-right -spectrum. Most saliently emerged anarchism, animal rights, anti-capitalism, different forms of pro-inclusive

(anti-discriminatory) ‘isms’ and the notion of equal access to urban space—the ‘right to the city.’

The analysis gives support to the various studies that highlight the plural meanings of DIY for the participants—including views where participants do not connect societal or political ambitions to DIY (see chapter 2.1); in other words, the ideals are not connected to the spaces but are carried by individual participants behind the spaces. Furthermore, some responders deny any societal or political ideals behind their participation, while others presented skepticism on DIY practices to have influence beyond the spaces. The influence of the ideals can be found from the operating principles. At least three aspects of the ideals is realized in (some) of the spaces and their activities: (i) Some of the squats were inspired by the ideal of ‘right to the city.’ The spaces themselves are seen to represent autonomous areas that defy the logic of capitalism. (ii) Animal rights are manifested by serving vegetarian food and promoting veganism. (iii) The operating principles—which also include the guidelines of safe space—incorporated ideas of anti-racism, equality, feminism, and promotion of arts and culture.

The responders reported a variety of challenges, setbacks and problems. The fringe location of the spaces was experienced as a problem for logistics and attracting the audience. The last notion is in dire contrast to Chatterton and Holland’s (2003) study in which the fringe location was seen as a part of the space’s method of self-control and selecting who participates in the spaces’ events. (Chatterton & Hollands 2003, 198.) Many of the spaces—and DIY culture overall—was short on funding. This was reflected in the poor condition of some spaces, which were seen even to pose a danger. Without funding to amend the situation, the spaces were deteriorating further, and the problems persisted. Some spaces also lacked the necessary living facilities and technical equipment for live music events. The scarcity of money also meant that many times both the practitioners and performers worked as volunteers. Furthermore, sometimes the event organizers and artists, in fact, paid for performing through costs that could not otherwise be met; they paid for their hobby, but at the same time acted as cultural producers who paid for others’ leisure too.

Some of the spaces’ challenges emerged from outside of the spaces. Some responders experienced themselves being stigmatized and their spaces to be met with suspicion by neighbors. A few instances of other citizens attacking squatted buildings also emerged. However, a more frequent visitor was the police who interfered both with squats, but also loud events of any space. Berglund and Peipinen (2018) have brought forward how Helsinkian squatters have faced even police violence (Berglund & Peipinen 2018), and

Monti and Purokuru describe some of these violent encounters (Monti & Purokuru 2018). The result of this study draws a more complex picture of the police's relationship with DIY spaces and participants. In fact, no instances of violence on the part of the police were reported. This, of course, does not revoke the claims of those cited above. However, it does implicit that acts of violence by the police have been rare. Nevertheless, two of the responders did report excessive behavior and misconduct. On the other hand, the lion's share of the responders highlighted how the police's reaction towards DIY events was neutral and understanding if not even permissive.

Furthermore, the responder's experience of the City of Helsinki was ambiguous. On the one hand, the City was seen to enable many of the spaces. The City rented spaces initially squatted to the squatters and even funded others. On the other hand, the City was seen as the sole reason some of the spaces were forced to shut down. Albeit the clear cut arguments on the benefits of temporal use of urban space (presented by Hernberg 2014; see chapter 2.2), it seems that Helsinki lacks a clear and uniform policy towards DIY culture and vacant urban spaces—what to do with them, who is responsible for them and what is the City's stance on renting the spaces for cultural use (or any other activities for that matter). This ambiguity was most prominent in the cases of Vuoritalo and Kumma. In the first case, the house was rented for an organization. However, the contract was annulled after the authority responsible for the building (or the region) changed. Consequently, the same people initially renting the space, squatted Vuoritalo. In the case of Kumma, the practitioners were in direct contact with the mayor Anni Sinnemäki and were granted the building for use under a rental contract. Nevertheless, the City's authorities were seen to threaten the existence of the space. For the DIY participants, the City's unclear policy has posed problems and set individuals in an unequal position, as their fortune lies in the hands of the sympathies of the authority they initially come in contact with.

Some of the problems stem from the scene participants themselves—conflicts over the ideals of DIY and the meaning of particular spaces sometimes caused rifts and disagreements. Furthermore, some experienced that implementing anti-hierarchical decision making in practice was a hindrance for it. Other problems were more social by nature. For some, the scene was experienced as 'inwardly' bound and difficult to 'get in'; in other words, some felt as outsiders in the spaces' social circles. Disorderly conduct—often connected to excessive use of alcohol (and other intoxicants)—was also reported by the informants. Some responders did highlight the rarity of the cases as individual cases, while others argued that they did not face any problems. Furthermore, some responders viewed the

unwanted behavior to have been connected to only certain scenes and social groups. Nevertheless, rowdy behavior, violence, and sexual harassment took place in—at least—some of the spaces. However, similarly to the alternative spaces researched by Chatterton and Hollands (Chatterton & Hollands 2003, 57), the responders reported methods of self-regulation to counter unwanted behavior—removing and banning individuals from the spaces.

#### *8.1.2 Alternative Cultural Spaces, Scenes and Scene Participants*

The theme of the second analysis chapter is the relationship between the alternative cultural spaces, scenes, and scene participants. For the scene, the spaces represent a crucial platform to carry out DIY activities and foster subcultural forms. Many musicians who play marginal and otherwise niche musical styles—with few venues to host them to begin with—have gotten their chance in the spaces. The spaces itself attracted newcomers and draw actors from different scenes together to participate in the social DIY activities. The activities were considered to foster communality self-purposefully—their communal nature was valued in itself—and out of necessity—setting up the events required the input of several actors. The sociability of the events and activities sometimes results in socio-cultural cross-fertilization between different scenes and scene participants. The outcome of this has sometimes been even the birth of new organizational groups and scenes, but also forms of self-expression and forms of DIY practices. Furthermore, sometimes the organizational groups relocate their activities to new spaces and therefore partake in reproducing the scenes and subcultures. The scene network around—at least some—of the spaces reached from the local level to the national and all the way to the other side of the planet, which strengthens the viewpoint that between local scenes exists far reaching connections (see chapter 4.1.3) in which also influences spread. The local DIY scenes have also impact on the broader cultural field of Helsinki as the scene participants' life paths lead to them to participate in culture beyond DIY in more formal and commercial instances.

From the perspective of the individuals, the analysis confirms the various studies that have presented a relationship between the identity of scene participants and alternative cultural spaces (see chapter 2.1). Some of the responses highlight how meaningful it was for their identity to initially find the scene and become part of a social world they experienced to belong to. Some connected to their participation a feeling of being different from 'the general culture' that resonates with subculture theory's emphasis on differentiating social groups. This sense of being different reflects the subculture theory's emphasis on collective

differentiation and distinctive social groups and is in contradiction with post-subcultural notions of subcultural youth as a mundane part of consumption and leisure in contemporary societies. (See chapters 4.1.–4.1.3).

However, in line with post-subcultural studies on aging youth culture participants and the possibility of life-long identification with scenes and subcultures (Bennett & Hodkinson 2020; Bennett 2013), some of the responders did bring out how this sense of being different has lasted long into adulthood, and how their identity and world view today is still influenced by their—past or present—participation. To this discussion of scene participation and aging, the thesis adds the concept of ‘DIY phase’ that emerged from the data. Some of the responders highlighted a phase of intensive participation in DIY activities during which the activities were both subjectively central to the participants’ identity, but also filled most of their leisure and was pronouncedly meaningful for their identity. However, the conventional notion of youth culture participation as a temporal and diminishing ‘phase’ in one’s youth is challenged by the results that indicate that while participation fluctuates throughout one’s life situation, for everyone, it does not simply end with adulthood.

Itself the DIY phase was seen to dwindle at one or another point in the responders’ lives. The routes are two-fold. Some say they lessened the amount of time and resources dedicated to DIY, while others opted out from the scene entirely. Those whose DIY participation only lessened explained that either a space they were operating in was shut down—and they were forced to cut down their participation—or they were getting worn down by their intense and excessive participation. On the other hand, for others, the end of the DIY phase was more drastic and meant—more or less—a full stop for their participation. As the reasons for diverging from the scene, the responders highlighted major life events—such as moving away from Helsinki, new job positions or having offspring—that guided the persons towards other life aspirations. However, even in the later life of the participants, the influence of the DIY phase is experienced as a salient part of the participants’ identity—whether they did or did not continue participating in DIY activities. Even some of those whose participation has ceased, root a part of their identity on their past scene participation and see that their worldview is sympathetic to younger DIY participants—in a way that highly resembles Bennett’s (2013) notion of ‘affective’ scene participation, which takes place emotionally after scene participation has ended. (Bennett 2013, 60–61.)

Furthermore, the results point to a strong relationship between DIY participation and acquiring skills and knowledge that also result in occupational choices in relevant fields. For some, the alternative cultural spaces were the first instance where they got an active role as a

producer (compared to a sole consumer) and therefore developed their agency concerning DIY culture. These results reflect discussions on ‘DIY careers’ and other similar conceptualizations discussed in chapter 2.1. While some participants in their later lives continue with being strictly involved only with DIY practices, many of the responders highlighted how their social and recreational tinkering had turned into professional careers and livelihoods. When considering these results with the spread of DIY to new locations (presented in chapter 7.2.1.iii), the results indicate that alternative cultural spaces also cultivate the development of the overall culture fields of Helsinki.

## 8.2 Defining DIY Enclaves

This thesis has adopted Chatterton and Hollands’ (2002, 2003) notion of ‘alternative cultural spaces’ as one of its key concepts (Chatterton & Hollands 2002; Chatterton & Hollands 2003). However, the concept is used with a clause—the thesis’ alternative cultural spaces represent the ‘informal and uncommercial’ marginal of all of the alternative cultural spaces. In Chatterton and Hollands’ view, these spaces exist in relation, and against, ‘mainstream’ and ‘residual’ spaces (or ‘playscapes’ as the writers call them; for definition, see chapter 4.2.1). However, I problematize the concept and assert that a definition of ‘urban DIY enclaves’ is a more suitable conceptualization that also should be implemented in the toolboxes of urban planners and designers.

The dichotomic separation of ‘alternative’ and ‘mainstream’ present in Chatterton and Hollands’ conceptualization has been contested in a variety of research on scenes, subcultures, and DIY. Lowndes (2016) defines DIY with a self-purposefully loose definition that highlights creative practitioners and social motivations behind DIY but does *not* divide the scene participants in ‘DIY’ and ‘non-DIY,’ or ‘alternative’ and ‘non-alternative,’ practitioners (Lowndes 2016, xiv). Several studies (cited in chapter 2.1) assert that inside scenes exist divisions of the meaning of DIY. For others, DIY does represent alternative forms of cultural expression, while for other participants, DIY is simply a way of approaching music-making and self-expression overall. Maybe most recently, this has been stated by Ana Oliveira (2020), whose yet unpublished doctoral dissertation on Portuguese independent musicians highlights how DIY is simply a way of approaching making music, not a value in itself, or a form of opposing the mainstream. (Oliveira 2020.) Likewise, this study brought up the plurality of societal and political ideologies connected to DIY, and on the other hand, how some participants do not connect ideals to their participation. Above all, none of the responders highlighted an opposition to the mainstream—albeit some did

promote underground's role as something 'concealed' and 'marginal' and others did sense themselves as different from the 'general culture' (see chapters 7.1.2.ii and 7.2.2.)

In fact, even Chatterton and Hollands acknowledge how their definition of alternative cultural spaces relies on squeezing a variety of self-expressive forms, including not alternative, under the same umbrella: '[w]hile some alternative spaces are simply more bohemian versions of mainstream culture, others openly identify themselves as oppositional.' (Chatterton & Hollands 2003, 197.) Their study has also been criticized by James Farrer (2004) for over-emphasizing and even romanticizing the 'alternative' scene:

While this general thesis is convincing, the critique of the branded mainstream leisure culture relies on a contrast with an "alternative" scene in which more authentic forms of consumption, sociability, and anti-mainstream resistance are possible. Here the distinctions are less convincing. Like the earlier youth cultural studies literature, the authors seem to be searching for social and political commitments in activities where youth simply are looking for fun. (Farrer 2004, 694.)

As it happens, Chatterton and Hollands themselves admit to this essentialism: 'we primarily reserve our discussion to forms of nightlife that involve intentional acts of resistance—which define themselves explicitly against the corporate "other," the commercial, the mainstream.' (Chatterton & Hollands 2003, 197.) Nevertheless, they still assert that bars, restaurants, kiosks, clubs and squats can all represent alternative cultural spaces. (Chatterton & Hollands 2003, 199.)

It can be stated that the pitfall of Chatterton and Hollands' concept comes down to the inherent resistance and opposition to the mainstream. They declare rightly that 'for many people, resistance evokes images of overt and often heroic acts of defiance with the intention of struggling against identifiable power structures such as capitalism, patriarchy, commercialism and globalization.' (Chatterton & Hollands 2003, 200.) To their credit, this view also reflects the notions of many of the responders of this study. However, when Chatterton and Hollands expand their view of resistance to include 'more mundane and pragmatic' and 'transgressive' aspects (Chatterton & Hollands 2003, 200, 201), they are guilty of the same kind of over-interpretation, that subculture studies have been blamed for at least from the CCCS' theory onward (see chapter 4.1.2)—they see resistance everywhere. In other words, the researchers find from youth cultural practices resistant and opposite connotations that are not present in the practices unambiguously—possibly not at all.

As an example, the writers use unlawful skateboarders who they see as "'pavement commandos" who fight for their right to skate unharassed.' (Chatterton & Hollands 2003, 201.) However, there simply is no empirical proof to support their claim. Of course, for

some skateboarders, or participants of any other youth culture for that matter, these ‘mundane’ acts can represent resistance and opposition. However, their meaning for the participant cannot be reduced to resistance and opposition by an ‘outside’ interpretation of the researcher. In fact, Chatterton and Hollands state this ambiguity in clear when they continue to point out how the same kind of resistance takes place in the realm of night-time activities: ‘city at night is replete with such acts of transgression often mixed with pleasure-seeking.’ (Chatterton & Hollands 2003, 201.) Lastly, it should be noted that Chatterton and Hollands published their book right at the moment when the post-subculture theory—that tried to amend and tone down CCCS’ over-interpretation of (class) resistance (see chapter 4.1.3)—was only gaining momentum, and therefore my subsequent criticism is a tad unfair.

To counter Chatterton and Hollands’ problematic conceptualization, this thesis suggests viewing the multifarious urban spaces under discussion as ‘urban DIY enclaves.’ The departure point of the definition is the presence of the DIY scene in the enclave; in other words, DIY enclaves are defined by the group using them, the DIY scene. The definition is free of the ‘burden’ of resistance but allows for resistant and oppositional meaning-making when deemed relevant. In other words, enclaves might have resistant qualities for some of the participants, but this is not presupposed from the get-go. This kind of a conceptualization allows for a flexible understanding of DIY enclaves, their users and implications for cities—for example, the building of Oranssi, the Alina hall owned by the University of Helsinki, the street occupation Katu on Punk and the music ship M/S Illusia all represent DIY enclaves. The individual participants understand the meaning of their participation and activities in a variety of ways that may emphasize resistance, but just as well hedonism, the DIY community, the possibility to self-express, or the proactive nature of the activities.

The content of the concept comes from urban planning and design literature, where ‘enclaves’ are used as a way to conceptualize the socio-spatial organization of cities. The journal’s *Delft Architectural Studies on Housing’s (DASH)* dedicated issue (2011) on urban enclaves defines them as urban planners and designers’ initiatives to improve cities that have ‘resulted in enclaves within the city—with their structure, arrangement, and the internal world—that, although they were formulated as critiques, are complements to that city.’ (van Gameren, Kraaij & van der Putt 2011, 2.) Especially commonly, the concept has been used about the rapidly evolving East Asian megacities such as Guangzhou or Shanghai and their distinct and often demarcated urban areas such as fenced neighborhoods. However, it has been noted that enclaves are *not* unique to China, or other Asian countries for that



matter, but are ‘emerging in metropolitan agglomerations around the world’ as different kinds of cultural, functional and economic groups and activities agglomerate to specific spaces. (Wissink, van Kempen, Fang & Li 2012, 161, 256–257.) Altogether, enclaves are seen to create the basis for the ‘fragmented’ or ‘patchwork’ city where several enclaves border each other and together form the entire urban infrastructure. (Iossifova 2015, 92.)

Reflecting on the empirical findings of this study to Abrahamson’s (2020) characteristics of enclaves, we can state enclaves are simultaneously social and physical spaces that are separated from the rest of the city. People choose to live—and in the case of DIY to participate—in enclaves to be and belong with others who share their significant characters, but an amount of segregation guides the formation of enclaves. Enclaves are formed through imposing social and economic processes where the inhabitants are forced into the enclave with no better options. An enclave is characterized by distinctive and shared lifestyle, and institutions that support it. However, the population itself is usually heterogeneous—including socio-economic factors. The inhabitants of an enclave identify with the place and experience it as their ‘own.’ They are also identified to it, which also means that the inhabitants of enclaves might be stigmatized. (Abrahamson 2020, 140–145.) Of course, differences exist between Abrahamson’s enclaves and the DIY enclaves. DIY enclaves are not residential areas, nor stable neighborhoods—and certainly not gated communities (mentioned by Wissink, van Kempen, Fang & Li 2012, 256)—albeit, in some, people do live in. Their possibilities for providing economic autonomy for the participants are restricted or non-existent. Most of this thesis’ DIY enclaves’ sizes are moderate compared to the complete districts sometimes discussed under the moniker of enclave. However, sometimes they flock together—like in Kalasatama (see Map 2).

In his article on the ‘planned unplanning’ of SuviLahti, Krivý (2013) presents SuviLahti as a ‘differential enclave’ that is physically in contrast with the ‘ordinary city.’ The other aspect of the SuviLahti enclave is its nature as a ‘living organism’—it is an autonomous, creative, diverse, and self-managed community of cultural producers that are bottom-up-organized. (Krivý 2013, 1738.) While DIY enclaves come close to this conceptualization, some differences nevertheless persist. The key element of DIY enclaves is DIY culture—the ‘living organism’ that follows its logic of cherishing independent creative practice, and the related communities and subcultures. Sometimes also self-purposefully challenging the hegemony—including insurgent practices. DIY culture also forms the basis for shared norms, lifestyles, and collective identities among the enclaves’ habitants, which are tended with social institutions—operating principles and policies such as ‘safe space.’ However,

DIY enclaves do not enjoy the benefit of cultural enclaves purposefully planned to be unplanned (Krivý 2013) or—at least currently—even a blessing from the City of Helsinki. DIY enclaves pop up in spatial locations where their formation is possible, which sometimes also means going against zoning and legislation. Like cultural enclaves, the DIY enclaves do stand out from the broader urban space. However, unlike Suvilahti that differentiates by protected ‘beautiful architecture’ (Krivý 2013, 1743), DIY enclaves do this pragmatically, because of their decayed condition and symbolically by ‘winning space’—for example by graffiti art.

As an example, that comes close to our DIY enclaves, Abrahamson uses the 1920s Paris’ Left Bank and the LGBT enclaves of San Francisco. In these cases, writers, painters, artists and musicians, and sexual minorities agglomerated to the enclaves. Crucial to DIY enclaves, both of these enclaves came to existence to support a particular creative and hedonistic lifestyle. (Abrahamson 2020, 144.) Likewise, DIY enclaves come to exist to support DIY culture and making possible the related activities and lifestyles. Through these factors, the enclaves are also integrable to existing literature on scenes and subcultures. Fischer (1975) has pointed out how the predisposition for distinctive subcultures to form is large and dense urban populations that enhance variations, intensity, diffusion, and unconventionality of lifestyles. (Fischer 1975.) In contemporary subcultural theory, a distinction has been made between the cultural and social aspects of a subculture where subculture is reserved for the symbolic and aesthetic aspect of subcultures, and the scene is the social network that revolves around self-expressive practices in a specific geography (see chapters 4.1.1–4.1.3).

DIY enclaves can be ingrained in the theories surrounding scenes and subcultures. The ‘scene perspective’ emerged initially as a challenger of the (social) subculture concept. One of its key benefits is the fact that it does not include the dichotomic presentation of subculture versus the mainstream (see Straw 2015; Bennett 2011; Bennett 2004). Different definitions of local scenes see them as networks revolving around creative practices rooted in specific geographical locations. In this thesis, this was formulated—following Glass’ (2012) definition—as: ‘The scene is thus both a social and physical entity. Socially, scenes overlap with several other social worlds, and are a meaningful part of scene participants’ identity construction. Physically, the scene is anchored in dispersed locations in the urban infrastructure.’ (Page 21.) Following this, the thesis now suggests that one of the dispersed locations of the scene is DIY enclaves. In this configuration, DIY enclaves represent one of the social hubs of the scene, the anchors. When scene participants may live and rehearse all-

around a specific geography, for example, the Helsinki region, one of the spaces where they come together is the DIY enclaves.

First and foremost, we should consider implementing DIY enclaves in the toolbox of urban planners and designers—the professionals from whose discussions the concept has been loaned from—and in cultural policies of metropolitan areas with lively DIY presence. Lehtovuori (2011) has pointed out how urban planners and designers have only recently begun to recognize the importance of urban space's informal and marginal use. (Lehtovuori 2011, 71–72.) Chrysagis (2019) highlights DIY's value for cultural policy as solutions that differ from the norm and therefore create new ways of seeing and doing. (Chrysagis 2019, 12–13.) In his discussion of the Suvilahti area, Krivý points out how the City endorsed the cultural enclave because it was seen that the enclave would benefit a far wider area than the initial enclave in Suvilahti. (Krivý 2013, 1739.) In his discussion of Kaapelitehdas, Bottà (2006) points out how this DIY enclave managed to—under a few years—revitalize a factory building that was vacant in 1989 and by 2006 hosted around 100 artists, 70 bands and several cultural institutions. (Bottà 2006, 7–8.)

The responders of this study have pointed out how in their experience, Helsinki lacks a policy towards DIY culture and use of vacant urban space (owned by the City). The DIY enclave concept does not need to be restricted to only cultural enclaves—like in this study—but could also include DIY interventions from a wide range of different urban activists that shape contemporary cities (Finn 2014.) Adopting the concept of DIY enclaves in urban planning and cultural policy, ultimately, means implementing the scene and its agency as part of the City's administrative apparatus—participatory planning to the maximum. In other words, the concept would allow to harness the power of the 'fourth sector's' proactiveness and productivity (Mäenpää and Faehnle 2017.) In short, the concept would allow to take a step further to make real the well-meaning, but also high-minded prospects of the Helsinki City Strategy with its emphasis on urban culture, participatory planning and promotion of citizen initiatives. (Helsinki 2017.)

For example, implementation of the concept mean that the Suvilahti DIY skatepark would have been constructed to a permanent location from the get-go. Initially permitted by the City to be constructed temporally on an area under redevelopment, its users are now fighting for the existence of an internationally acclaimed skatepark (Alaluusa 2020) and after investing an estimated one million euros of working hours, concrete, and other building material in it (Niemi 2017). Another good example would be Sompasauna that underwent several demolitions by the City before establishing itself and becoming a celebrated and

internationally known ‘DIY sauna.’ (Aalto 2016.) Acknowledging DIY enclaves would allow for their longevity and give legitimatization to their users and their activities. No one knows how many of the spaces under discussion in the analysis could be renovated today—by volunteers—and established themselves as cultural hotspots of Helsinki.

Of course, DIY enclaves are not, and would not be, a gift that solely keeps on giving. The enclaves’ acknowledgment would most likely require financial input from the City—like which has already happened in the case of Konttiauquio. On the other hand, the enclaves are not unproblematic, as the analysis has presented. Music events are often loud and might disrupt other city dwellers. In several locations, standard safety regulations have been violated, and official permits for events left unfilled. Some of the spaces have been seen too dangerous to be used while in others there have been problems with excessive use of intoxicants, abusive behavior, sexual harassment, and other misconduct. These are dire aspects of the enclaves that would need to be addressed. However, it is argued that acknowledging and reacting to the enclaves—even in cases of unauthorized squats—in a constructive matter would, in fact, lessen these downsides. Conversely, Helsinki would not try to sweep the enclaves under the rug but could engage the DIY practitioners. From the analysis, we also know that amidst the practitioners exist self-regulative practices, and responsible and keen participants who do not want anyone to be put in danger nor hostile situations.

Implementing DIY enclaves as a part of Helsinki’s urban planning and design should neither lead to a semi-anarchic state where the most powerful, or in this case, maybe the most persistent rule. In other words, urban space should not be divided into whoever declares a space as their own. To the contrary, there should be clear and explicit terms under which space can be acquired for DIY use. Spaces suitable for DIY could even be included in zoning plans—including currently vacant spaces and spaces that will be vacant under a known timeframe. In other words, the idea of DIY enclaves is to legitimize and popularize the ‘planned non-planning’ discussed by Krivý (Krivý 2013) and already implemented in Helsinki. It is not difficult to imagine how the spaces that are or will be available would be listed on an online platform and reserved by whoever needs space. We already have applications that let us buy nearly expired food and counter food waste, next we could do this with vacant urban space.

### 8.3 Self-Critique and Known Restrictions of the Data and the Method

Some of the challenges the knowledge-creating process of this thesis have been discussed in chapters 5 and 6. The major challenge of this thesis is the limitations the production of the data causes. First of all, collecting data for use in a museum exhibition most likely influences the responders; in other words, the responders were aware of the fact that their responses might be made public. This could have both (i) encouraged writing about, and in a way that highlights the more positive aspects of the spaces—the informants are conscious subjects who realize the consequences of their responses. Furthermore, (ii) it might be that the informants were more hesitant to reminisce about problems and other sensitive topics they considered not to belong to the public view. It is also fair to assume that the data is not representative of all alternative cultural spaces in Helsinki during the new millennium. However, essential for the research result is the nature of the spaces the data might not include. We know from research on oral history's methodology that some topics are difficult to obtain data from due to their sensitive or illegal nature (Häkkinen & Salasuo 2019). Based on this fact, it can be speculated that the data is biased towards 'respectable' and 'clean' spaces, which have not been acquired by squatting or have hosted unlawful activities. The undersigned's observations confirm that there have existed spaces in Helsinki not mentioned by any of the responders in which the use of illegitimate substances was apparent.

The data can also be suspected to be biased towards the event organizers and facilitators of the spaces. Information about the questionnaire spread in public mediums such as newspapers and social media. However, we also contacted known participants directly and asked them to name other people who could be relevant responders. It is suspectable that this 'snowball technique' also meant that the persons who our initial informants mentioned are more likely people who were in close and prolonged involvement with the spaces—in contrast to, for example, one-time visitors or occasional musicians who played in the spaces. This bias might have influenced the overall shape of the analysis. The results do seem to highlight relevant themes for the organizers and facilitators—in contrast to musicians or audience, for example. We can speculate a bit what this means. For example, if more musicians would have responded, the music itself—and its meaning for the musicians—could be in a more focal role in the research results. On the other hand, the nature of the responders might mean overemphasis of such issues such as funding, location of the spaces, and other such practical matters.

Based on the analysis, the data emphasize punk and EDM (or rave) subcultures, which can be seen to root to the two subculture's historical roots and discourses that have highlighted DIY music for the last four decades (see, for example, McKay 1998.) In other words, from these subcultures, an unproportioned number of responders identified with the call to collect data about 'DIY music scenes places.' Furthermore, subcultures and scenes have a long and problematic relationship between the cultural industry (see for example Hebdige 1979; Cohen 1972)—that a museum is also part of—and from the data emerged mentions that can be read as anti-establishment and valuing underground's role as 'concealed' from the public view. Therefore, it can be surmised that some of the potential responders did not respond. On the contrary, participants who celebrate DIY activities and independent culture production might have been encouraged to responder. Whatever the case may be, it seems reasonable to suspect that the data is over-representative of rave and punk participants, which is reflected in the results as an emphasis on these subcultures values—in relation, for example, the operation models and ideals of the spaces.

The data is neither able to grasp the longevity of practices. The continuation of DIY activities in later life was verified in the chapters 7.2.1.iii and 7.2.2.i. It can be stated that—at least for some participants—participation in DIY means that the participation continues in later life and new locations—for some in alternative cultural spaces, and for some in commercial instances. Furthermore, the analysis pointed out how organizations such as Oranssi and Vadelma have created a continuum by facilitating DIY in several locations in Helsinki. What the data simply is not able to grasp is what kind of continuation exists, for example, among squatters who are less organized and have practiced their craft for years or decades but done this informally and without adopting a moniker or otherwise established themselves in a way that would highlight the length of their activities.

The fact that responding to the survey questions was voluntary problematizes the validity of the analysis to a degree. In other words, the fact that the responders were free to skip questions they did not see to have input means also that some of the questions might have gotten answers only from responders who experienced them as meaningful. (See for example Portelli 1981.) For example, it can be speculated that the question about how welcome the responders experienced themselves in the space more likely yielded responses from responders who did not feel completely welcome, or even overemphasizes responses from people who overall feel more social anxiety. Furthermore, my involvement with the scene and several of the spaces—and the fact that I was also heavily involved with drafting the questionnaire—have influenced the formation and interpretation of the data. Of course,

qualitative research is always inseparably connected to the researcher, and their values, ideologies, presuppositions, and so forth—as is quantitative research. It is inescapable that my involvement and the experiences that stem from this as well as my personal subcultural preferences—for example, indie rock, punk and specific forms of hip hop—would not have influenced the research results. Direr the influence of my own experience, is, of course, in the data collection that easily emphasizes aspects salient for my (then) understanding of the alternative cultural spaces. Of course, our workgroup approach is a rudimentary form of ‘researcher triangulation,’ which could, and should, be reinforced in possible future research on the topic.

#### 8.4 Future Research Questions

The research has answered several questions but opened up even more. Studying the path of the few spaces in the data that have been able to establish themselves could be sensible. Is their long-standing a consequence of the historical moment; in other words, the social structures, or maybe the explaining factor lies in the ideals or social dynamics of the organizational group. For example, why has Oranssi Ry been able to stabilize itself as a youth and culture organization and Punk Ry from Vuoritalo not? Although, the first one began its existence as an illegitimate squatting movement (Peipinen 2012) and the other one as a formal organization with a lawful rent contract. The inconsistency between this study’s results on the police’s—mainly—neutral stance towards alternative cultural spaces, and previous literature’s that paints a gloomier picture (including violence; see chapter 2.2) should be taken under closer scrutiny. Is the picture of unjust police behavior only observation bias that roots to rare, but spectacular cases, or, does the data of this study—for whatever reason—keep silent about unfortunate events.

From the scene’s point of view one can ask, how does significantly different subcultural scenes—such as EDM and hardcore punk—mix, or whether they mix at all, in the spaces? On the other hand, what kind of affective relationships exist between different scenes and followers of different subcultures? From the study was also drawn a picture of the alternative cultural spaces as seedbeds of DIY culture. The relationship between scenes, alternative cultural spaces and bolstering the local culture fields overall, should be researched. For example, from research we know that a successful career in art and cultural production relies on one’s ability to gather and utilize their social capital. (Currid 2007.) For example, we should ask how does the social relationships—passing or more permanent—

born in alternative cultural spaces and DIY culture reflect in the wider social circles of the cultural field?

Various questions can be posed also from the individual's point of view. DIY culture's meaningfulness for the participants comes across loud and clear, but the question of why DIY culture creates such passions still remains. Cutting to the core of theoretical discussions on subcultures, we can ask what is the relationship between a sense of self as 'different' and a subcultural identity? As it is expected that not all of the scene participants experienced a sense of themselves as 'different', we should ask who are the participants who experience themselves as different from the others? Do they share some characteristics or, for example, is there something common in their personal relationship to DIY culture? What is the role of this sense of self in creating and maintaining a collective subcultural identity? Likewise, the 'DIY phase' raises questions—do all of the participants go through it or only some? What is the phase's meaning for experience of life later?



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Konttiauquio photograph by Fileri. Photograph by Fileri, distributed under [CC-BY-SA 4.0 license](#). Photograph available from Wikimedia Commons:

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## 10 Appendixes

### 10.1 Appendix 1. List of Atlas/Ti Codes Used in the Analysis

Aate: Anarkismi  
Aate: Antifasismi  
Aate: Antihomofobia  
Aate: Antikapitalismi  
Aate: Antirasismi  
Aate: Antiseksismi  
Aate: Ekologisuus  
Aate: Epäinstitutionalisoituminen  
Aate: Feminismi  
Aate: Fregaanius  
Aate: Inklussiivisuus  
Aate: Kansalaisaktiivisuus  
Aate: Kasvisruoka  
Aate: Kaupunginosan maineen kohottaminen  
Aate: Liberaalius  
Aate: Pasifismi  
Aate: PLUR  
Aate: Poliisivastaisuus  
Aate: Poliikan välttäminen  
Aate: Ruohonjuuritaso / DIY  
Aate: Sarjakuvan statuksen nosto  
Aate: Seksuaali- ja sukupuolivähemmistöjen edist  
Aate: Taiteen edistäminen  
Aate: Tasa-arvoisuus  
Aate: Turvallisempi tila  
Aate: Underground -> Underground  
Aate: Underground->Overground  
Aate: Vapaa muuttoliike  
Aate: Vapaa tila  
Ammattitaito: Ammattitaidon kehittäminen  
Ammattitaito: DIY-asette / tekemällä oppii  
Ammattitaito: Hyödyttänyt myöhemmin elämässä  
Ammattitaito: Itsevarmuus  
Ammattitaito: Kokeileminen  
Ammattitaito: Organisointi  
Ammattitaito: Toimijuus  
Genre: Afrobeat  
Genre: Blues  
Genre: Disko  
Genre: Elektronen musiikki  
Genre: Folk

Genre: Fuusiojazz  
Genre: Heavy metal  
Genre: Hip hop  
Genre: Indie  
Genre: Iskelmä  
Genre: Jazz  
Genre: Jokainen  
Genre: Kaikki  
Genre: Kokeellinen musiikki  
Genre: Maailmanmusiikki  
Genre: Noise  
Genre: Punk  
Genre: Rap  
Genre: Reggae  
Genre: Rock  
Genre: Taide-musiikki  
Genre: Tekno  
Genre: Underground  
Hallinta: Hierarkiat (talokokous)  
Merkitys: Emansipaatio  
Merkitys: Esteettinen  
Merkitys: Identiteetin rakentuminen  
Merkitys: Itsenäköinen kulttuuri  
Merkitys: Kaupunki  
Merkitys: Nautinto  
Merkitys: Onnistumiskokemus  
Merkitys: Säilynyt  
Merkitys: Skenelle  
Merkitys: Toimija  
Metatieto: Aineisto  
Metatieto: Paikan olemassaolo  
Metatieto: Paikka  
Metatieto: Tilan hallinta  
Metatieto: Yhteyshenkilöt  
Motiivi: Elämän ylläpito  
Motiivi: Intohimo  
Motiivi: 24H  
Motiivi: Merkityksellisyys  
Motiivi: Vapaa yhteiskunnan säännöistä  
Muisto: Huippuhetki  
Muisto: Keikkaillan kuvaus  
Muisto: Keikkapäivän kuvaus  
Muisto: Toiminnan motiiviit  
Muisto: Tyypillinen päivä  
Muisto: Yleisö  
Ongelma: Bränditön

Ongelma: Ei  
Ongelma: Esteettömyys  
Ongelma: Fasilitteettien puute  
Ongelma: Häiriö kaupunkitilassa  
Ongelma: Häiriökäyttäytyminen  
Ongelma: Kiireellinen aikataulu  
Ongelma: Kokemattomuus  
Ongelma: Koordinointi  
Ongelma: Laittomuus  
Ongelma: Liikaa yleisöä  
Ongelma: Logistiikka  
Ongelma: Maasto  
Ongelma: Päihteiden liikakäyttö  
Ongelma: Rahoitus  
Ongelma: Ryhmän sisältä  
Ongelma: Sää (ulkoilma)  
Ongelma: Sijainti kaupunkitilassa  
Ongelma: Sisäänlämpiävyys  
Ongelma: Sopimattomuus joukkoon  
Ongelma: Tekniikka  
Ongelma: Tilan käyttö  
Ongelma: Toimintaideologian aiheuttama  
Ongelma: Työläys  
Ongelma: Ulkopuolisten aiheuttamat  
Ongelma: Ulkopuolisten ennakkoluulot  
Ongelma: Yleisön puute  
Paikka: Aga  
Paikka: Airam  
Paikka: Alahuone  
Paikka: Alina-sali  
Paikka: Casa Academica  
Paikka: Elimäenkatu  
Paikka: Factory  
Paikka: GR!F treenis  
Paikka: Happihuone  
Paikka: Herttoniemi Block Party  
Paikka: Illusia  
Paikka: Kääntöpöytä  
Paikka: Kaapelitehdas  
Paikka: Kallio  
Paikka: Kallio Block Party (Tapahtuma)  
Paikka: Karku  
Paikka: Katu on punk (Tapahtuma)  
Paikka: Kohtuukäyttökлубi (Kalasatama)  
Paikka: Konttiauکیو  
Paikka: Kontulan ostari ja lähialueet

Paikka: Kumma  
Paikka: Kupoli  
Paikka: Kyläsaari  
Paikka: La Bas  
Paikka: Lepakkoluola  
Paikka: Lepakkomies  
Paikka: Lonnan saari  
Paikka: Makamik  
Paikka: Mäntymäen tien rakennus (ent. Suomen la  
Paikka: Merihaan parkkihalli  
Paikka: Moninaiset paikat  
Paikka: Muu Galleria  
Paikka: Nosturi  
Paikka: Omenapuutalo  
Paikka: Oranssi  
Paikka: Palokaivo  
Paikka: Pasilan galleria  
Paikka: Piritta  
Paikka: Pitkämies  
Paikka: Puistot  
Paikka: Punavuori  
Paikka: Rajatila  
Paikka: Rauhanasema  
Paikka: S-ryhmän vanhakauppa (Herttoniemi)  
Paikka: Satama  
Paikka: Semifinaali  
Paikka: Siperia  
Paikka: Sotabunkkerit  
Paikka: Stella  
Paikka: Suvilahden DIY park  
Paikka: Turkoosi  
Paikka: Vadelma  
Paikka: Väiski  
Paikka: Vallatut talot  
Paikka: Valvomo  
Paikka: Vapaakaupunki  
Paikka: Venetsia  
Paikka: VR:n makasiinit  
Paikka: Vuoritalo  
Paikka: Wäiski  
Paikka: White House  
Paikka: YK-Klubi  
Skenelle: Mukaan tulo  
Skenelle: Sosiaalinen koheesio  
Skenelle: Sosiaalinen sekoittuminen  
Skenelle: Taiteen edistäminen

Skenelle: Taloudellinen  
Skenelle: Toimijuuteen oppiminen  
Skenelle: Toiminnan edistäminen  
Skenelle: Trans-lokaalius  
Sosiaalinen: Ensimmäinen koodaus  
Sosiaalinen: Laajentuminen  
Sosiaalinen: Loppuminen tuhoaa  
Sosiaalinen: Säilynyt erkaantumisen jälkeen  
Sosiaalinen: Vahvistuminen  
Sosiaalinen: Yhdessä tekeminen synnyttää  
Tieto: Flyer  
Tieto: Havaittu kaupungilla  
Tieto: Kaverilta  
Tieto: Markkinointi  
Tieto: Media  
Tieto: Netti  
Tieto: Perheen jäsen  
Tieto: Skene  
Tieto: Sosiaalinen media  
Tieto: Suusta suuhun  
Tieto: Tapahtumien kautta  
Tieto: Zine  
Tila: Aktiivivuodet  
Tila: Ilmainen  
Tila: Kaupallinen  
Tila: Kaverien kautta saatu käyttöön  
Tila: Lupa kaupungilta (kadun käyttö)  
Tila: Tieto olemassaolosta  
Tila: Tilan kuvaus  
Tila: Väliaikaisuus  
Tila: Vallattu talo  
Tila: Varaus  
Tila: Vuokraus  
Tila: Yhteistyössä kaupungin kanssa  
Tila: Yksityiseltä taholta  
Tila: Ylläpitäjät  
Toimija: Erkaantuminen  
Toimija: Kiinnittyminen  
Toimija: Rooli  
Toimija: Toimeentulo  
Toiminta: Ajanvietto  
Toiminta: Drag-tapahtumat  
Toiminta: Elävä musiikki  
Toiminta: Elokuvat  
Toiminta: Hacklab  
Toiminta: Illanistujaiset

Toiminta: Jooga  
Toiminta: Kapakka  
Toiminta: Keikkailta  
Toiminta: Kirpputori / Freeshop  
Toiminta: Kunnianhimo  
Toiminta: Loppu  
Toiminta: Markkinointi  
Toiminta: Opintopiirit  
Toiminta: Performanssi  
Toiminta: Poliittinen  
Toiminta: Pyöräpaja  
Toiminta: Rakentaminen  
Toiminta: Ruoka  
Toiminta: Studio / äänitys  
Toiminta: Taide  
Toiminta: Teatteri  
Toiminta: Treenaus  
Toiminta: Työpajat  
Toiminta: Ulkopuoliset järjestäjät  
Toiminta: Urheilu  
Toiminta: VJ  
Toiminta: Yhteiskunnallinen muutos  
Toiminta: Yhteisöllisyys  
Toiminta: Yöpyminen / Asuminen  
Toimintaperiaate: Avoimuus  
Toimintaperiaate: Edullisuus  
Toimintaperiaate: Ei-kaupallinen  
Toimintaperiaate: Feminismi  
Toimintaperiaate: Ikärajattomuus  
Toimintaperiaate: Ilmaisuus  
Toimintaperiaate: Matala kynnys / omaehtoisuus  
Toimintaperiaate: Päihteettömyys  
Toimintaperiaate: Syrjimättömyys  
Ulkoinen reaktio: Ei-rajoitteita  
Ulkoinen reaktio: Kansalaiset  
Ulkoinen reaktio: Kansalaiset – Negatiivinen  
Ulkoinen reaktio: Kansalaiset – Positiivinen  
Ulkoinen reaktio: Kaupunki  
Ulkoinen reaktio: Kaupunki – Negatiivinen  
Ulkoinen reaktio: Kaupunki – Positiivinen  
Ulkoinen reaktio: Poliisi – Negatiivinen  
Ulkoinen reaktio: Poliisi – Neutraali  
Ulkoinen reaktio: Rajoitteet  
Ulkoinen reaktio: Skene – Negatiivinen

## **Helsingin DIY-musiikkiskenet ja paikat 2000-luvulla**

Helsingin kaupunginmuseoon avautuu marraskuussa 2020 näyttely Helsingin 2000-luvun tee se itse -musiikkiskenen paikoista. Näyttely kootaan yhdessä toimijoiden kanssa.

Syksyllä 2019 näyttelyyn kerätään muistitietoa kyselylomakkeella sekä tietoa lainattavissa olevasta audiovisuaalisesta aineistosta, esineistöstä ja muusta aiheeseen liittyvästä materiaalista. Tee se itse -skenen paikoiksi kyselyssä mielletään ei-kaupalliset ja ei-viralliset tilat kuten vallatut talot, galleriat tai katutila.

Keruuseen voivat vastata kaikki tiloja käyttäneet – niin paikkojen ylläpitäjät, tapahtumajärjestäjät, esiintyjät kuin yleisökin.

Kysely alkaa taustatiedoilla vastaajasta ja vastauksen kohteena olevista paikoista. Varsinainen muistelu alkaa vapaalla muistelulla, jonka jälkeen esitetään tarkentavia kysymyksiä.

Kaikkiin kohtiin vastaaminen on vapaaehtoista. Voit ohittaa sinulle epäolennaiset kysymykset, mutta anna äänesi kuulua, kun sinulla on jotain kerrottavaa!

Keruun aikahaarukka on koko 2000-luku ja sen kohteena on kaikki tee se itse -musiikin alle itsensä mieltävä ruohonjuuritason musiikkitoiminta – genreen katsomatta.

Keruun vastausaika on 3.9.–30.11.2019.

Kerätty aineisto tallennetaan Musiikkiarkistoon tutkijoita ja muita kiinnostuneita varten. Aineistoa käsitellään luottamuksellisesti tietosuojalainsäädännön mukaisella tavalla ja se arkistoidaan anonymisti eli siitä poistetaan tunnistetiedot. Näyttelyssä käytettyihin muistoihin liitetään vastaajan antama syntymävuosi, sukupuoli ja rooli.

Lisätietoja: [https://www.musiikkiarkisto.fi/kokoelmat-palvelut/\\_tiedostot/musiikkiarkisto-aineistojen-kaytto.pdf](https://www.musiikkiarkisto.fi/kokoelmat-palvelut/_tiedostot/musiikkiarkisto-aineistojen-kaytto.pdf)

Vastaajan yhteystiedot tallennetaan Helsingin kaupungin Kulttuuripalvelujen kanta-asiakas ja sidosryhmärekisteriin.

Rekisteriseloste: <https://www.hel.fi/static/liitteet/kanslia/rekisteriselosteet/Kuva/Kuva-EU-Kulttuuripalvelujen-kanta-asiakas-ja-sidosryhmarekisteri.pdf>

### **1/7 VASTAAJA**

Nimesi:

Syntymävuotesi:

Sukupuolesi:

Toimijaroolisi:

Jättämällä yhteystietosi saat kutsun kaupunginmuseon näyttelyn avajaisiin syksyllä 2020.

Puhelinnumero:

Sähköposti:



Voimmeko ottaa sinuun tarvittaessa yhteyttä lisätietojen kysymiseksi?  
[ ] Kyllä

## **2/7 PAIKAN TAI TILAN PERUSTIEDOT**

Paikka tai tila, jota muisteluni koskee:  
Tilan tai paikan osoite tai osoitteet (tai karttakoordinaatit):  
Tiedossani olevat tilan tai paikan aktiivivuodet:  
Osallistuin itse tilan toimintaan vuosina:  
Miten tila tai paikka saatiin käyttöön:  
Kuka hallinnoi paikkaa tai tilaa, maksettiinko siitä vuokraa:  
Musiikkityylit, jotka tilaan tai paikkaan liittyvät:  
Kuvaile tilan ulkonäköä:  
Kuvaile tilaa osana kaupunkikuvaa:

## **3/7 VAPAATA MUISTELUA TILASSA TOIMISESTA**

Kirjoita vapaamuotoisesti tilasta.

## **4/7 TOIMINTA PAIKASSA TAI TILASSA**

Millaista toimintaa tilassa järjestettiin? Millaiseen toimintaan ja missä roolissa osallistuit itse?  
Millaista musiikkitoimintaa tilassa järjestettiin? Minkä musiikkityylin kanssa itse toimit?  
Kuvaile tyypillinen päiväsi tilassa:  
Kuvaile tyypillinen keikkailta tilassa:  
Mihin toimimisesi tilassa loppui? Jatkoiko joku muu toimintaa kun jäit itse sivuun?  
Liittyykö tilassa toimimiseen mielestäsi yhteiskunnalliseen muutokseen tähtääviä аспектеja?  
(esimerkiksi veganismin, feminismin, rasisminvastaisuuden tai tietyn poliittisen ideologian edistäminen)  
Koitko olosi tervetulleeksi tai ulkopuoliseksi tilassa? Mikä tähän vaikutti? Mitä tilassa toimiminen on merkinnyt elämällesi myöhemmin?

## **5/7 TOIMINNAN SUJUVUUS, HYVÄT JA HUONOT PUOLET**

Mikä tilassa sujui parhaiten ja mikä oli suurin ongelma? Mitkä asiat tähän vaikuttivat? Osaatko sanoa miksi?  
Mikä tilan sisäisessä toiminnassa sujui hyvin? Mikä tähän vaikutti?  
Mikä tilan sisäisessä toiminnassa sujui mikä huonosti? Mikä tähän vaikutti?  
Miten tilan ulkopuoliset tahot suhtautuivat tilaan ja sen käyttäjiin?  
Miten tilan ulkopuoliset tahot vaikuttivat tilaan ja sen olemassa oloon? Mahdollistivatko vai uhkasivatko he tilaa? Millainen Helsingin kaupungin suhtautuminen tilan käyttöön oli?  
Miten tilassa järjestetyt musiikkitapahtumat sujuivat? Mikä toimi, mikä aiheutti ongelmia? Osaatko sanoa miksi?

## **6/7 PAIKAN TAI TILAN MERKITYS JA MUISTOT**

Mistä kuult tilasta ensimmäisen kerran?  
Mitä tilassa toiminen merkitsi sinulle?  
Millaisia muistoja tilaan ja siellä toimimiseen liittyy sinulle?  
Mitkä ovat parhaita muistojasi tilasta?

## 7/7 AINEISTO

Onko sinulla hallussa audiovisuaalista aineistoa, esineistöä tai muuta materiaalia tilasta, jota olet halukas lainaamaan kaupunginmuseossa toteutettavaan näyttelyyn tai lahjoittamaan kokoelmiin? Millaista?

Voit vielä nimetä yhden tai useamman tärkeän henkilön, jota olisi hyvä haastatella tai jolla voisi olla aineistoa näyttelyyn.

Kerätty aineisto tallennetaan Musiikkiarkistoon tutkijoita ja muita kiinnostuneita varten.

Aineistoa tullaan käyttämään Helsingin kaupunginmuseon marraskuussa 2020 avautuvassa näyttelyssä.

Lisätietoja:

Musiikkiarkisto, arkistonjohtaja Juha Henriksson 045 249 5680 tai [juha@musiikkiarkisto.fi](mailto:juha@musiikkiarkisto.fi)  
Helsingin kaupunginmuseo, tutkija Eero Salmio 040 751 6831 tai [eero.salmio@hel.fi](mailto:eero.salmio@hel.fi)

### 10.3 Appendix 3. The Bulletin of the Data Collection

## KAUPUNGINMUSEO KERÄÄ AINEISTOA 2000-LUVUN DIY-MUSIIKKISKENEJÄ ESITTELEVÄÄN NÄYTTELYYN

Helsingin kaupunginmuseoon avautuu marraskuussa 2020 näyttely Helsingin 2000-luvun omaehtoisesta DIY (tee se itse) -musiikkiskeneistä. Kaupunginmuseo ja Musiikkiarkisto toteuttavat syksyllä 2019 aineistonkeruun helsinkiläisen ruohonjuuritason epämuodollisista ja epäkaupallisista musiikin tekemisen ja esittämisen paikoista ja DIY-musiikkipiirien elinvoimaisista rihmastoista.

Kyselyllä kartoitetaan muistitietoa sekä tietoa näyttelyä varten lainattavissa olevasta audiovisuaalisesta aineistosta, esineistöstä ja muusta aiheeseen liittyvästä materiaalista. Kyselyyn voivat vastata niin esityspaikkojen ylläpitäjät, tapahtumajärjestäjät, esiintyjät kuin yleisökin. Aineistonkeruun aikahaarukka on koko 2000-luku Lepakon purkamisesta nykyhetkeen ja sen kohteena on kaikki DIY-musiikin alle mielletävä ruohonjuuritason musiikkitoiminta genreen katsomatta. Aiheesta ja aikakaudesta ei aikaisemmin ole koottu näyttelyä.

DIY-musiikkitapahtumia järjestetään usein epätavanomaisissa paikoissa: kaupungin laidoilla, vallatuissa taloissa, ulkoilmassa. Omaehtoisissa tiloissa kuten Vuoritalossa, Konttiaukiolla tai Vadelmassa eri skenet ovat voineet edistää genreen uusimpia virtauksia ilman rahan tai suosioon liittyviä paineita.

Helsingin kaupunginmuseon näyttely nostaa pääkaupungin verevän ja elinvoimaisen DIY-musiikkikulttuurin ansaitsemaansa valokeilaan ja tuo marginaalit kaupungin laidoilta, squateista ja joutomailta suuren yleisön koettaviksi, kuunneltaviksi ja katseltavaksi.

Kerätty aineisto tallennetaan Musiikkiarkistoon tutkijoita ja muita kiinnostuneita varten. Musiikkiarkiston aineistot ovat käytettävissä voimassaolevan lainsäädännön (mm. tekijänoikeuslaki ja tietosuojalaki ja -asetus) sekä Musiikkiarkiston omien käyttöehtojen mukaisesti. Tallennetun aineiston omistusoikeus siirtyy Musiikkiarkistolle, mutta tekijänoikeudet säilyvät alkuperäisillä tekijöillä, jollei muuta erikseen sovita.

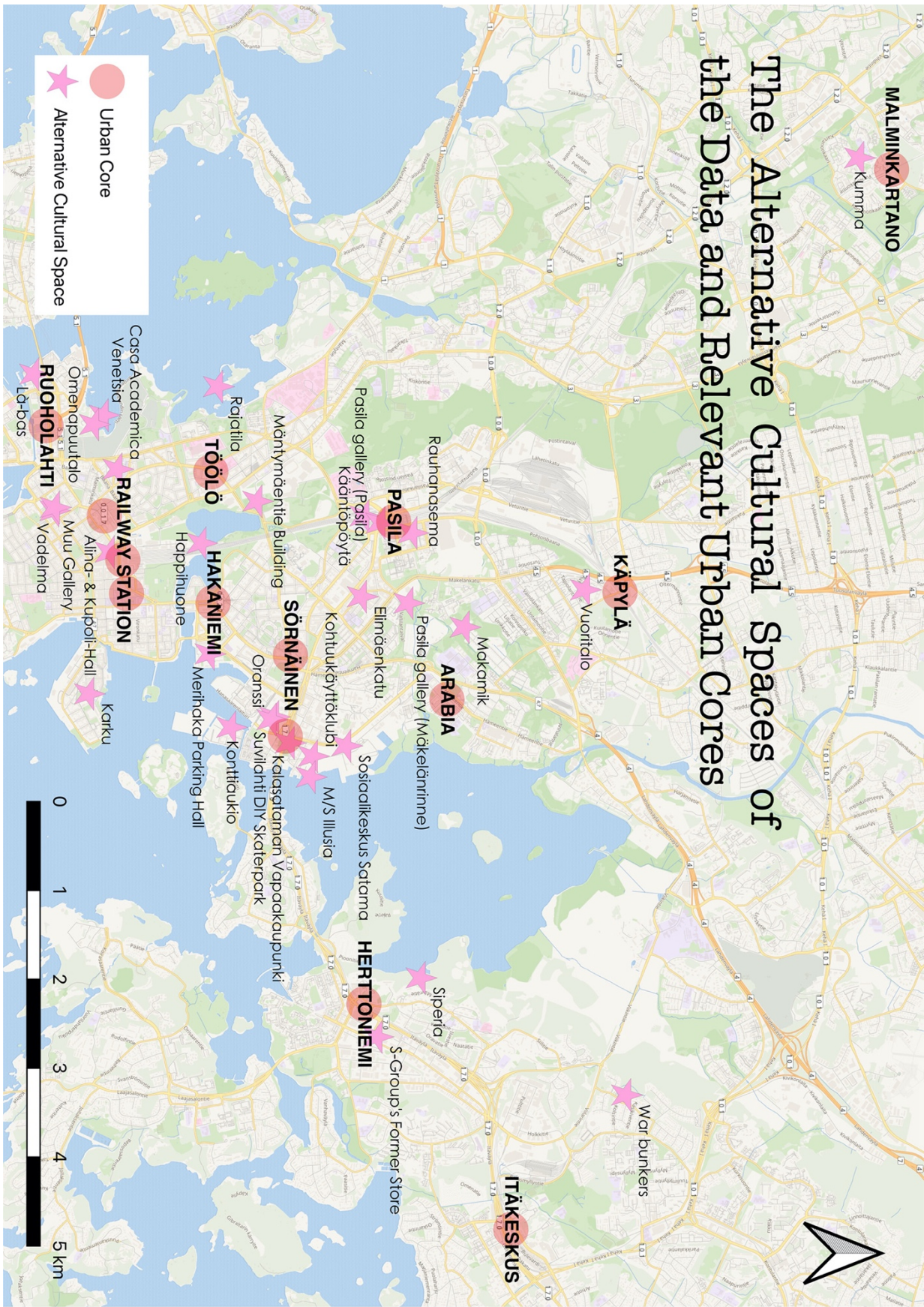
Tule mukaan tekemään näyttelyä Helsingin musiikkiskeneistä vastaamalla kyselyyn!

Kyselyn vastausaika on 3.9.–30.11.2019.

Kuva: Sosiaalikeskus Satama Kyläsaarella. © Jussi Jänis

#### 10.4 Appendix 4. Maps of the Data's Spaces

10.4.1 Map 1. The Alternative Cultural Spaces of the Data and the Relevant Urban Cores





10.4.2 Map 2. Alternative Cultural Spaces of Suvilahti



## 10.5 Appendix 5. The Original Interview Quotes (in Finnish) in the Order of Appearance

Kiinteistön oli ostanut sijoitusyhtiö [name of the company removed] ja talo oli kaavailtu muutettavaksi asuintaloksi. Saimme vuokrattua kellaritilan edulliseen 3 euron neliöhintaan, kokonaisvuokran ollen noin 1500 euroa kuukaudessa. Tiesimme että joudumme lähtemään tilasta ennemmin tai myöhemmin kun suunnitelmat kiinteistön muuttamisesta menisivät läpi ja saimme vuokrasopimukseen 3 kk:n irtisanomisajan. (Q15:1.)

Lauttasaaren talon omisti yksityinen taho, joka suostui alkuperäisen valtauksen jälkeen tekemään asukkaiden kanssa sopimuksen. Tila vuokrattiin kerhotilaksi, jossa asuminen oli epävirallista ja hinta hyvin nimellinen. Luulen, ettei omistajaa kiinnostanut talon kohtalo tai kunto, ja valtaajien oli helpompi antaa jäädä kuin käydä häätötaistoon. (Q1:37.)

[t]ila oli tavallisesti lähinnä akateemisten pöytäjuhlien näyttämönä ja reivit olivat muutaman kerran vuodessa tapahtuvia poikkeuksia [--] (Q14:6.)

[t]oivomme pääsevämme järjestämään tapahtumia Kääntöpöydälle ensi kesänäkin. (Q64:21.)

[o]ttaa omaehtoisesti kaupunkitilaa haltuun (ala)kulttuurin ja kaupunkilaisten käyttöön, pois autoilta (Q16:5.)

kotikutoinen (Q2:13.)

karuhko, asfalttinen ympäristö (Q4:5.)

kulunut (Q6:3.)

Neljä (tai enemmän?) säilytyskonttia muodostivat puoliaukean ympyrän lähellä merenrantaa jättäen kuitenkin paljon aukeaa tilaa. Karuhko, asfalttinen ympäristö. Konttien lisäksi tilan läheisyydessä oli 1–2 bajamajaa. Ennen varsinaiselle Konttiaukiolle saapumista tietä reunusti pitkä graffiti-aitaus. (Q41:1.)

Aika rujo, paljon kaikkea random roskaa ja tavaraa; vähän mitään pysyvämpää materiaa noiden konttien lisäksi (mistäköhän nekin oli peräisin). Tavallaan se vain lisäsi konttiaukion viehätystä erottamalla sen kaupallisemmista ja organisoidummista tiloista. Konttiaukio oli harvemmin kuitenkaan hirveän saastainen, kyllä jengi taisi siivota ihan asiallisesti bileiden jälkeen. (Q76:5.)

Bileet olivat talon ylimmässä kerroksessa hieman olohuone/toimistomaisessa tilassa. Muistan näistä että oli siistiä että paikalla oli jonkin verran paikan vakkareita, joita ei yleensä tällaisissa bileissä näe muualla, ja he olivat myös hyvin mukana meiningissä. Pihalla paloi tuli tynnyrissä ja jengi kävi välillä ulkona huilimassa. (Q73:12.)

[--] melko siisti ja tyyppinen anarkistien tila. Paljon kirjoja, pamfletteja, poliittisia julisteita ja eriparisia ruokailuvälineitä. [--] tilaa väritti ja elävöitti pihalla leiriä pitäneet romanit. (Q28:8.)

Kulahtanut, mutta tavallaan tyylikäs. (Q33:5.)

Sinivalkoinen teräslaiva jossa vihreä lohikäärme mastossa. Kannella pieni stage bändille ja pikku purkkari jossa pysty istumaan ja nauttimaan musiikista. Sateen varalta oli kolme kupoliteltta pystytettynä, joista kaksi kannella ja yksi rannalla. Sisätila oli tilava jakautuen keskikerroksen kahteen osaan jossa toisessa sohvaa ja toinen avonaisempi soittajille ja esim kirtanille.. (Q37:6.)

[k]aikki maanalaisen ja taivaan välillä (Q24:23.)

[--] toimintaperiaate oli yksinkertainen. Tarjosimme tilan, sähkön sekä tarvittavan A/V-tekniikan ja tiedotusavun kenelle tahansa, joka tahtoi järjestää oman kulttuuritapahtumansa. Tapahtuma-ajan ja -tilan varaus tapahtui nettisivujen [web address removed] kautta. Varaaja sitoutui toimimaan [name of the organization removed] periaatteiden mukaisesti järjestämään yleisölle avointa, maksutonta ja epäkaupallista kulttuuritoimintaa. Jokaisella oli siten mahdollisuus kehittää omaehtoista kulttuuritoimintaa ja kutsua muut kaupunkilaiset osallistumaan siihen. (Q24:10.)

Siellä järjestettiin lukuisia yleisölle avoimia tapahtumia kuten konsertteja, taidetapahtumia ja leffakerhoja, mutta myös spontaaneja konserttien jatkoja ja jameja - mihin vuorokauden aikaan tahansa. Tila oli yhdistyksen jäsenten käytössä, mutta avoin ystäville ja vieraille. Jäseniä yhdistykseen liittyi Vadelmakellarin myötä noin 150 henkeä. (Q15:9.)

Oranssi on kaikenlaisesta syrjinnästä, rasismista ja seksismistä vapaa alue. (Q42:11.)

Olen huomannut, että turvallisemman tilan sääntöjen selkeä sanallistaminen ja suora ilmoittaminen tapahtumissa auttaa lisäämään niiden turvallisuutta. Toisaalta olen myös huomannut, että turvallisemman tilan tarpeellisuuden esittäminen on joskus haastavaa: jos turvattomuutta ei ole itse kokenut, voi toisen kokemusta turvallisuuden puutteesta olla hankala ymmärtää. (Q64:25.)

Lä-bas ei koskaan ollut "turvallinen tila", ei esiintyjille itselleen eikä millekään yleisölle. (Q56:17.)

[E]siintyneiden artistien poliittiset kannat, sikäli kuin olen niistä perillä tai osaan niitä arvata, ovat olleet äärilaidasta äärilaitaan, vasemmalta oikealle, anarkismista kirjaimellisesti monarkismiin. Totaalisen ilmaisuvapauden hengessä artistivalintaa ei ole koskaan harjoitettu ideologis-poliittisten seikkojen nojalla. (Q56:7.)

Näkyvä poliittinen aktivismi ei myöskään ole ollut keskeistä omalle diy-kokemukselleni. (Q3:1.)

Toki omilla ehdoilla toimiminen riistokapitalismista vapaassa tilassa on sekin poliittinen kannanotto, muttei sillä ole kovin suurta vaikutusta isommassa kuvassa. (Q28:15.)

Toiminta ei varsinaisesti ollut muuten kuin jo lähtökohtaisesti jollain tapaa poliittista [--]. (Q46:11.)

Vaikkei tiloissa järjestetty varsinaista poliittista toimintaa, oli niissä läsnä yllämainitut [veganism, feminism, anti-racism, promoting political ideologies]. [--] Vuoritalolla ruoka oli vegaanista, osallistujat pääosin avoimesti feministisiä ja sukupuolijakauma tasaisempi kuin muilla elämän osa-alueilla. Kuitenkin näistä ismejä edistettiin lähinnä sloganeita maalaamalla, tägäämällä tai huutelemalla. (Q1:25)

Musta tuntuu, että omaehtoisissa keikkapaikoissa on usein lähtokohtaisesti jo tavoite jonkin muuttamiseen yhteiskunnassa tai ainakin kaupunkitilassa, otetaan uuteen käyttöön jotain hylättyä tai muille turhaa tilaa. (Q49:9.)

Tapahtumat olivat poliittisesti ja uskonnollisesti sitoutumattomia, avoimia kaikille sekä ilmaisia. (Q27:13.)

Valtaaminen jo itsessään on poliittinen teko ja tähtää yhteiskunnalliseen muutokseen, kuten lisäämään tasa-arvoa luomalla kaikille avoimen tilan, ja ottamalla oma-aloitteisesti käyttöön tilaa kulttuuria ja omaehtoista toimintaa varten. Usein sillä pyritään myös kiinnittämään huomio tyhjillään seisoviin tiloihin, samalla kun monilla ei ole asuntoa, eikä alakulttuureille löydy tilaa. (Q17:6.)

Tapahtuma loi paljon inspiraatiota uudenlaisen tilan haltuunottoon ja musiikkikulttuurin tarjoamiseen erikoisissa kaupunkitiloissa. (Q31:13.)

Vapautta toimia kaupungin järjestämässä tilassa. (Q27:20.)

Konttiaukio tuntui itsenäiseltä osalta Helsinkiä, jonne kaupalliset tahot eivät yltäneet. Se oli aukea ulkoilmatila, joka antoi jokaiselle järjestäjälle mahdollisuuksia levittäytyä ja käyttää ympäristöä parhaiten näkemällään tavalla. (Q4:5.)

Hieno ja yllätysellinen keidas Verkkosaaren rannassa toisella puolen hirviömäinen modernin yhteiskunnan markkinatalouden tuottama rakennustyömaa, josta aikansa tulee kivierämaa toisella puolen meri, Kulusaaren vihreä ranta ja kauempana siintää Herttoniemen metsäinen ranta ja pohjoisempana Vanhankaupungin lahti. Välissä vapaa ja omaehtoinen keidas, Rakkaudella Illusia—M/S Illusia. Kun katsoi länteen näki ns. helvetin ja kun katsoi itä-koilliseen pyllisti sille ja näki vehreyden. Sääli, sääli mihin tämä kaupunki meneekään. (Q37:8.)

Yhdistävä tekijä oli omaehtoisten tilojen luominen, mutta taustalla vaikutti monilla anarkistisia ja autonomisia motiiveja. (Q55:21.)

Anarkiaa siellä lähinnä pedattiin. Elämää kapitalistisen yhteiskunnan marginaalissa. (Q39:14.)

Katu on Punk seuraa [name of the anarchistic organization removed], eli anarkismia, DIY:tä, ekologiaa, suoraa toimintaa, antikapitalismia ja antifasismia; [name of the anarchistic organization removed] toimii tasa-arvon puolesta niin ihmis- kuin eläinoikeudellisinkin periaattein. KoP on eniten pro loitunut kaupallisuuden ja yksityisautoilun vastustamiseen, ja sen pointti on ottaa omaehtoisesti kaupunkitilaa haltuun (ala)kulttuurin ja kaupunkilaisten käyttöön, pois autoilta. KoP on poliittista suoraa toimintaa. (Q16:5.)

Poliittisia ideologioita ei levitetä niin paljoa enää kuin aiempina vuosina ja poliittisempi väki on myös jättänyt keikoilla käymisen sikseen ja keskittyy enemmän mielenosoitusten ja poliittisten tapahtumien ja tempausten järjestämiseen. (Q28:15.)

ug:n ja diy:n voisi tuoda "maan päälle" – että helsingin elektronisen musiikin skene ja diy-kulttuuri tavoittaisi laajemmin, olisi vastaanottavaisempi ja hieman hyhmäisenä pidetyn kulttuurin maine kirkastuisi. Koin, että Pasilan Kääntöpöydällä onnistuimme tekemään ensimmäisen askeleen kohti tätä suuntaa. (Q64:13.)

Sitä, ettei se kuulu suurten massojen tutkailtavaksi tulevaisuudessa. Ei tällaista kuulu ottaa museoon esille. Underground pysyköön undergroundina. (Q51:1.)



Studio Là-bas kätkeytyy Kaapelitehtaan kellariin, se pysyvästi jossain "tuolla alhaalla" (ransk. "là-bas"), ei koskaan "täällä" vaan aina "tuolla", etäisyyden päässä, ja ikuisesti undergroundia. (Q56:6.)

Käytimme bileiden suunnitteluun useita kuukausia ja keräsimme ja askartelimme hartaudella tarvikkeita dekotukseen. Budjetit olivat pyöreä nolla ja kaikessa sai käyttää loputtomasti luovuutta ja kekseliäisyyttä. (Q64:5.)

Kaikki tapahtumat toteutettiin hyvin pienellä budjetilla ja omalla rahoituksella. [--] Omenapuutalo tilana oli sellainen, johon pystyi rakentamaan tiloja tavallista helpommin: huonon kunnan vuoksi rakenteisiin uskalsi naulata ja niitata esim. installaatioiden osia. Toisaalta lahonneiden rakenteiden vuoksi osa ei tietyissä kohtaa pysynyt kiinni. Omenapuutalo oli itsessään paikkana valmiiksi hienon mystinen, erityisesti yläkerta: täynnä outoa tavaraa ja komeroita ja hämyisiä nurkkia. (Q44:6.)

Pieni budjetti ja vapaaehtoisuus vaikeuttaa aina tekemistä, mutta tekee siitä myös mielenkiintoisempaa. (Q43:27.)

[m]aksaa ulkopaikkakunnan bändeille matkakuluja omasta kukkarosta, kun ei keikalle tullut kuin kymmenen katsojaa. (Q28:23.)

maksamaan esiintyjillemme. (Q64:28.)

Viimeisen bändin lopettaessa matkakulut jaetaan rahojen laskussa, loput menevät paikan vuokraan. (Q41:3.)

Tapahtumien yhteydessä oli myös ihan mahdoton saada mitään rahaa yleisöltä kulujen kattamiseen ellei pyytännyt kolehtia. Usein laitoimme alueelle jätösäkkejä ja rahoitimme pullorahoilla ainakin osan omista kuluistamme. (Q66:17.)

Tilan ylläpitäminen olisi lopulta vaatinut niin suurta sitoutumista ja taloudellisia panostuksia, ettei se ollut mahdollista olemassaolevien ja etenkin päävastuuta kantavien, talossa asuvien talkkarityyppien voimin/resurssein. Lopettamisvaiheessa en usko että kenelläkään olisi edes ollut mahdollisuutta sen tason investointeihin ajallisesti, rahallisesti tai voimavarallisesti, vaikka motivaatiota olisi saattanutkin olla. (Q1:32.)

Rahattomuus myös lamauttaa ja pennien laskeminen vie turhan paljon aikaa ja energiaa, jonka voisi mieluummin käyttää luomistyöhön. (Q28:23.)

Nurjana puolena roudaaminen. Se ei ole ikinä kivaa. Varsinkaan kun tavaraa on pakettiautollinen ja kaikki on kannettava käsin. Maasto vaikeuttaa toimintaa luonnonläheisissä paikoissa. (Q79:13.)

Kummassakin tilassa itse tapahtumien järjestäminen oli vaivatonta ja helposti lähestyttävää. Ehkä suurimpia ongelmia tuotti kaikkien soittokamojen hankkiminen keikoille, kun niitä ei tiloista löytynyt. Konttiaukiolla toki vaikutti ympäristön muuttuminen aika paljon, kun välillä itse paikkaankin pääseminen oli hankalaa, kun ympäristöön rakennettiin uutta. (Q2:27.)

‘[b]ileet olivat suuri menestys kyseisen viikonlopun kilpailusta ja huonosta sijainnistamme huolimatta’ (Q32:8.)

Koska tila ei ollut julkisen liikenteen lähimmässä kosketuspinnassa ja sinne saapuminen vaati vierailijoilta sekä järjestäjiltä hiukan enemmän vaivannäköä, pysyivät kävijät yleensä pitkään paikalla vaikka sää olisikin ollut huono. (Q4:5.)

[y]ksi tärkeä osa valmisteluja olikin paikan tekeminen turvalliseksi mm. valaisemalla ahtaat ja jyrkät portaat tai estämällä pääsy paikkoihin, jossa laualattiat olivat painuneet rikki.’ (Q44:7.)

Ymmärsin tosiaan vasta jälkikäteen, kuinka riskialttiita bilejärjestelyt olivat. (Tulipalo tms.) Oli epäselvää, kestäisikö talo suuren määrän yleisöä ilman sortumista (talossa oli erinäisiä halkamia). (Q32:8.)

Tilan soveltuminen oli tietty niin ja näin. Joskus kun ihmiset hyppivät musiikin tahdissa, tilan rakenteissa havaittiin liikahtelua. Tähän keikkatoiminta siellä tyssäsikin. (Q39:12.)

Jouduimme siivoamaan tilaa todella paljon. Mieleen jäi alakerran (n. 10mX15m) raivaus. Se oli melkein kattoa myöten täynnä rakennusjätettä. Lopulta jopa imuroimme tilan. (Q32:7.)

Paikan laittaminen reivikuntoon vaati aika paljon työtä. (Q19:2.)

Alina-sali oli haastava saada teknoluolan näköiseksi, koska se oli korostetusti akateemisen juhlatilan näköinen (joskin hieman ränsistyneen sellaisen). Varsinaisessa salitilassa pyrittiinkin aina hieman peittämään tätä vuoraamalla seinät esimerkiksi kankailla, pressuilla, naamioverkolla tai hallaharsolla. Näin tilan juhlasalimaisuutta saatiin hieman hillittyä. (Q12:5.)

Tila olisi sopinut ehkä kahvilaksi ja infoshopiksi kesäisin. Talvesta en uskalla edes kuvitella. Tila ei olisi kestänyt keikkoja enää montaa kertaa ilman todella raskasta remonttia. Myös irtolaisena eläminen verotti omaa osallistumistani loppua kohti. Vessoista tuli ehkä isoin yksittäinen ongelma. (Q39:17.)

Talossa asuminen vaati paljon työtä ja ylläpitoa—siellä ei ollut juoksevaa vettä tai vessaa, rahaa ei ollut joten ruoka dyykattiin, talvella vaatteiden peseminen alkoi halkojen hakkaamisesta ja avannon tekemisestä. (Q1:12.)

[j]oku Länsi-Pasilasta oli häiriintynyt äänenvoimakkuuden tasosta. (Q64:31.)

[K]aupungissa tasapainotellaan myöhään jatkuvan musiikin soiton äänenvoimakkuuden kanssa. Pyrimme pitämään äänenvoimakkuuden tasolla, joka ei häiritse ympärillä olevia. (Q64:34.)

[e]ikä naapureista tarvinnut juurikaan välittää ennen kun Kalasataman uudet kerrostalot rakennettiin konttiaukion elämän loppupuolella. (Q2:7.)

Päätimme lopettaa toiminnan kesän 2014 jälkeen. Syitä oli monia; musiikin piti lopettaa klo 22 koska alueelle oli rakennettu uusia taloja, emme enää itse oikein jaksaneet, rahoituskuvioihin oli tulossa muutoksia ja kaupungin väliaikaisprojekti oli loppumassa. Jos melurajoituksia ei olisi tullut, tila olisi varmaankin jatkanut vielä pidempään. (Q24:14.)

Vaihtelevasti. Hyvää ja huonoa palautetta. (Q11:19.)

Muistan, kun istuin kerran kalliolla Vuoritalon edessä ja paikalliset pikkupojat tulivat juttelemaan. He kertoivat, että olivat joskus nähneet, kun joku tuli puukko kädessä ulos Vuoritalosta. Luulen, että kyseessä on mitä luultavammin ollut kyse yhdestä talon aktiiveista, joka on juuri tehnyt huoltotehtäviä talossa. Silloin kuitenkin ymmärsin, että osa paikallisista saattoi hieman pelätä Vuoritalon kävijäkuntaa. Yritin rauhoitella poikia ja muistaakseni onnistuinkin vakuuttelevaan, että talonväki ei ole "pahaa" porukkaa. (Q6:17.)

Aina järjestäessä tapahtumaa mihin tahansa "vasemmistolaisena" pidettyyn tilaan, on mielessä ajatus "onko tämä nyt se kerta, kun natsit heittävät keikkatilaan naulapommin". Onneksi vastaavilta ja reilusti lievemmilläkin välikohtauksilta ollaan toistaiseksi välttytty. (Q28:22.)

‘[Name of the political organization removed] aktiivit kävivät pihalla uhoamassa huutaen ”narkkarit ulos, häädetään talo!!!”, striimi päätyi Youtubeen.’ (Q41:20.)

Pahimpana arkisena ulkoisena uhkana uusnatsit, jotka kerran rikkoivat ikkunan potkimalla ja paikallinen Malminkartanon nuoriso viskasi kerran jääkokkareen avoimesta ikkunasta. (Q41:21.)

Aika nopeasti kävi ilmi, ettei talo ollutkaan aivan käyttämätön, vaan siellä kävi paikallisia nuoria hengaamassa ja ryypäämässä. He ärtyivät meidän varpaidentallomisestamme todella, ja kävivät aina siivoussessiomme jälkeen sotkemassa parhaansa mukaan paikkoja, ja spreijasivat juurimaalatuille seinille uhkauksia ja nokkeluuksia. Tilanteesta muodostui kummallinen kilpailu. Lopulta ilmeisesti samat tyypit repivät sähkömittarin seinästä irti niin että rakennuksesta meni sähköt. Olimme näin jälkikäteen ajateltuna varsin kärsivällisiä, siivosimme kaiken aina uudestaan ja kehitimme tehokkaampia lukkosysteemejä oviin ja rikottuihin ikkunoihin. Keskusteluyhteyttä ei nuorisolaisiin oikein saanut muodostettua. (Q17:3.)

Roudasimme pihalle aggregaatin, ja pidimme vahtivuoroa pareittain tapahtumien ajan. Jokin moka vahtimisessa kävi, sillä kesken leffafestareiden dokumentinnäytön sisään saapasteli pari poliisia. Saimme kuitenkin jatkaa festarit siltä päivältä loppuun. (Q17:5.)

Uskon että alue oli yksinkertaisesti niin syrjässä ja hankalan ajoreitin päässä, että poliisi ja kaupunki katsoivat toimintaa läpi sormien. Alue oli myös varsin avoin eikä siellä ollut juurikaan konttien lisäksi väliaikaisrannelmia. Näin ollen esimerkiksi tulipalon, sortumisten tai muiden yleisöä uhkaavien onnettomuuksien riski oli pieni. (Q66:7.)

Aluksi poliisi suhtautui meihin kuin kadunvaltaajiin ja pyrki keskeyttämään tapahtumia ties millä verukkeilla. 2012 festivaalitoimistoon marssi 10 poliisia ja ilmoittivat että heitä on yhteensä paikalla 40 poliisia ja he tulivat keskeyttämään tapahtuman koska emme toimineet sopimuksien mukaisesti. Sitten käytiin poliisin kanssa yhdessä läpi järjestyksenvallvoimat (kaikki kunnossa), EA-piste (kaikki kunnossa), Turvallisuus- ja pelastussuunnitelmat (kaikki kunnossa), jonka jälkeen poliisi antoi meidän jatkaa tapahtumaa. (Q69:4.)

Helsingin kaupungilta tila saatiin vuokrattuna pitkien vääntöjen jälkeen. Toiminta loppui tilassa kaupungin päätöksen takia, asuntorakentamisen tieltä. Eli kaupunki sekä mahdollisti että uhkasi toimintaa. (Q35:18.)

Festivaalit kokonaisuutena sujuivat joka vuosi hyvin, yleisö sekä esiintyjät viihtyivät. Tapahtumat Konttiaukiolla eivät olleet "virallisia", niihin ei haettu erillisiä lupia tai laadittu pelastus- ja palosuunnitelmia, eikä niillä ollut erikseen määrätty järjestyksenvallvoiksi. (Q27:15.)

‘Koitin saada tilaa vuokralle kaupungin tilakeskuksen kautta, mutta siellä ei oltu lainkaan yhteistyöhaluisia—edes oikean ihmisen kiinni saaminen vaikutti lähes mahdottomalta tehtävältä.’ (Q46:15.)

‘Kun talosta jouduttiin virallisesti luopumaan rakennustarkastajan vaihtumisen myötä (bajamaja-huussi-systeemit ja paloturvallisuus eivät olleet uuden virkamiehen mieleen).’ (Q11:6.)

Apulaiskaupunginjohtaja Sinnemäen ansiosta toiminta oli mahdollista pitkään. Tilakeskus on aina uhkana, koska johto suhtautuu vihamielisesti. (Q41:21.)

Helsingin kaupungilla ei tunnu olevan tarpeeksi näkemystä omaehtoisen tapahtumakulttuurin tukemiseen. Diy-kulttuuri nähdään hyhmäisenä toimintana tai typistetysti bailaamisena. Helsingissä on 90-luvulta jatkunut verkottunut ja eläväinen kulttuuri elektronisen musiikin ympärillä: harmittaa, että monien tekijöiden ja artistien työ meinaa jäädä ahtaalle. (Q64:33.)

Nuorempana uuteen paikkaan meneminen jännitti vietävästi, kun siellä ei ollut valmiiksi kavereita. Olen kokenut aina olevani tervetullut, mutten ole aina kokenut olevani yhdenvertainen muiden kanssa. (Q28:16.)

Kysyimme, voisiko [name of the organization removed] järjestää tilassa bileet. Varmaan koska tunsimme henk. koht. joitain valtausaktiiveja, saimme luvan "talokokoukselta". (Q32:6.)

Saatiin jotain todella suurta yhdessä aikaan. Toisaalta yhdessä tehtäessä on aina myös erimielisyyksiä, mikä haittaa toimintaa. (Q43:20.)

[y]hteisien asioiden hoitamisen jakaantuminen epätasaisesti aiheutti turhautumista, joka puolestaan aiheutti ulkopuolisuuden kokemusta. (Q1:28.)

Laadimme jossain vaiheessa keikkabuukkauksille säännöt ja deadlinet, jotta ilmoittautumisten ja tapahtuman välillä olisi aina tarpeeksi aikaa. Nämä dedikset ja rajoitteet ärsyttivät joitakin järjestäjiä. (Q18:11.)

Satamaa pyöritti puoliavoin kollektiivi, joka kokousti muistaakseni parin viikon välein. Kollektiivi oli poikkeuksellisen iso ja vaihteleva, ihmiset tulivat ja menivät. Kokoukset olivat jäätävän pitkiä, jopa kolme tuntia, ja niissä puitiin ja väännettiin yksityiskohtaisesti kaikesta, mistä oli erimielisyyttä. Ja erimielisyyttä todellakin löytyi, ihmiset koittivat kukin muokata tilasta sellaista mitä itse halusivat. Organisointi ja yhteistyö oli näinollen hieman hankalaa ja takkuavaa, eikä asiat edistyneet toivotulla nopeudella. (Q18:5.)

Selviä sääntöjä ei joko ollut tai jossain vaiheessa niitä ei noudatettu, ja ihmeelliset päähänpistot saivat vapaasti myllätä. Demokraattiset talokokoukset olivat varoittavia esimerkkejä siitä, miten paljon tasavertaisessa päätöksenteossa voidaan puhua ja miten vähän saada aikaan. Kun valtaa ja vastuuta ei jaettu virallisesti kellekään, ne jakautuivat epävirallisesti, eivätkä välttämättä lainkaan samoille ihmisille. Näkymättömiin valtarakenteisiin puuttuminen oli vielä hankalampaa kuin näkyviin. (Q55:2.)

Huomasin myöhemmin että vaikka ideaalimme oli olla hierarkiaton yhteenliittymä, niin silti valtaa aina käytti joku, vaikka virallista hierarkiaa ei ollutkaan. (Q69:14.)

Myös ihmisten väliset erimielisyydet päätöksiä demokraattisesti tehdessä, mutta niistä myös oppi paljon. (Q35:16.)

Pääsääntöisesti hyvin. [--] Joissain siperian bileissa oli myös aggressiivisesti käyttäytynyt päihteiden aktiivikäyttäjä joka aiheutti pelkoa. Muistelen, että tyyppi saatiin häädettyä tilasta. Vuoritalolla pidettiin muista huolta enkä muista että suurempia ongelmia olisi ollut. (Q40:15.)

Ongelma oli ehkä aiemmin mainitsemani sekoilu, johon syynä olivat yleensä päihteet. Ehkä myös se, että suuri osa aktiivitoimijoista oli parikymppisiä, eikä elämäkokemusta ja—näkemystä siihen, mikä on oikein ja mikä väärin—aina riittänyt. (Q6:16.)

Yleistä kaaosta oli eniten keikoilla jotka olivat täysin nuorten itsensä järjestämiä ilman, että paikalla oli selkeästi järjestämisestä vastaavaa aikuista. Välillä täytyi piilottaa alaikäisten kaljoja poliiseilta, kun heidän oma ymmärrys ei tilanteessa riittänyt. (Q42:13.)

Kalasataman squat houkutteli paikalle myös muutamia ilmeisesti lähialueella vaikuttavia tyyppejä joilla oli vakavia päihdeongelmia, joka purkautui myös muihin ihmisiin. Lisäksi pari muuta tyyppiä jotka olivat sattumalta paikalla alkoivat tappelemaan ulkona, mutta tilanne saatiin onneksi nopeasti rauhoitettua. Eli se että oli kaikille vapaa tila oli houkutellut myös joitakin yksilöitä jotka eivät suhtautuneet kovin rakentavasti siihen että kaikilla olisi myös turvallinen tila tai että olisivat jakaneet paikan arvoja. Kuulin että enemmän näitä ongelmia olisi ollut myös tapahtumien ulkopuolella. Siperiassa ja Rajatilalla ei omaan tietooni tullut tällaista. (Q73:20.)

Riippui tapahtumasta. Jotkut olivat kaaosta ja helvettiä ja ruiskuja pihoilla ja tappeluita ja yliannostuksia, ja samojen tyyppien keikkoja ei enää haluttu uudelleen. Toiset olivat kivoja ja myönteisiä, kuten [names of the bands removed] keikat joita oli säännöllisesti. Riippui ihan musiikkityylistä ja skenestä. (Q55:27.)

Joissain Siperian bileissä ilmeni seksuaalista ahdistelua joihin puututtiin myöhemmin, esim antamalla porttikieltoja. (Q40:15.)

Joitakin yksittäisiä epäkohtia tiettyjen humalaisten keski-ikäisten heteromiesten kohdalla (eräs järjestäjä ja eräs muusikko eivät osanneet kunnioittaa talon periaatteita, joten pakko antaa porttikielto). (Q41:9.)

En kuitenkaan halua syyttää tässä ketään, koska ajat olivat erilaiset kuin nykyään, esimerkiksi juuri päihteiden käytön kannalta. En itsekään aina silloin ymmärtänyt, että joidenkin henkilöiden käytös oli sellaista, jota ei pitäisi suvaita. Nykyään ollaan myös entistä tiedostavampia ja poliittisesti korrektimpia ja luulen että örveltämiseen puututtaisiin nykyään eri tavalla. (Q6:16.)

[K]ävijäkunta oli iältään väliltä 13-45 vuotta. Koska kukaan ei varsinaisesti valvonut menoa (tietenkin rähinöitsijät poistettiin paikalta), talossa saattoi olla lähes miten vain. Jälkikäteen mietittynä ei mielestäni ole kovin soveliaista, että alaikäiset ja lähemmäs keski-ikäiset alkoholisoituneet punkkarit ryypäävät keskenään. Etenkin, kun mukana oli henkilöitä, joilla oli selkeästi hoitamattomia (mielenterveys)ongelmia ja edesvastuutonta käytöstä. Tietynlaista sekoilua katsottiinkin aika paljon sormien läpi noissa piireissä. Kun vertaan punkkikeikkoihin ja muihinkin musiikkitapahtumiin nykyään, niin tuohon aikaan viinalla läträäminen oli aika ankaraa ja meininki usein kaoottista. (Q6:8.)

Kaupunkiaktiivi [name of the person removed] mahdollisti Omenapuutalon vuokraamisen omaehtoiseen diy-musiikkitapahtumiin. Häntä on varmasti kiittäminen monen pienen ja ahtaalla olevan alakulttuurin edistämisestä välillisesti. Helsingissä on miltei mahdotonta löytää tilaa sellaiselle kulttuurille, joka puskee totutun sääntöjä ja konventioita. (Q64:44.)

Casa Academica oli kohtalaisen merkittävässä roolissa Helsingin UG-konemusabileiden tapahtumapaikkana 2000-luvulla. [--] konemusiikkiyleisön näkökulmasta se oli tapahtumapaikkana merkittävä, koska siellä oli tapahtumia useita kertoja ja ne olivat tavallista suurempia. (Q14:6.)

Menestyneet Alina-tapahtumat ovat mahdollistaneet myös isompia taloudellisia riskejä sisältäneiden tapahtumien järjestämisen. (Q15:10.)

[I]tse todisti aika pitkälti räppikeikkoja. Täytyy muistaa, että suomeksi tehty räp oli todella marginaalista tuolloin vielä, muutamaa isompaa tekijää lukuunottamatta. (Q77:10.)

Vuoritalon vuokrasivat vähän vanhemmat punkkarit Lepakon hautajaisten jälkeen. Keikkoja oli pidetty kapakoissa jo aiemmin, mutta se oli hankalaa, kun aina sai olla baarinpitäjien mielivallan alla eikä alaikäiset päässeet mukaan. Lisäksi köyhät halusivat tietenkin juoda omia juomiaan. [--] Vuoritalossa oli mahtava yhteisöllisyyden ja tekemisen meininki. Paljon keikkoja, bändejä ympäri maailmaa [name of the band removed], kavereita vaikka mistä! (Q11:28.)

[a]lakerrassa oli treenikset ja yläkerrassa soittokamat [--]. (Q11:6.)

Suunnittelimme bileitä pitkään ja pieteetillä, ja itse suunnitteluprosessista ja yhteisestä toimimisesta tuli merkityksellisiä ja porukan yhteisöllisyyttä vahvistavia. (Q44:5.)

Yhteisöllisyyttä ja synergiaa. (Q47:14.)

‘Haikeita, hyviä, parhaita, euforisia, eläviä...ystävyyden, yhteyden ja merkityksellisuuden tunteita...’ (Q46:22.)

Varsinainen bileiden rakennus toteutettiin n. 10 tunnissa (pakulla tavaroiden noutaminen ja roudaaminen tilaan, musakamat, eri tilojen ja installaatioiden rakennus, valaisu). Paikalla olivat sekä kollektiivimme jäsenet, että joka vuosi 3–4 henkilöä osan aikaa auttamassa. (Q44:8.)

‘Osallistuin kaikkeen mitä tapahtuman järjestämiseen liittyy, joskus tein kaiken yksin, yleensä homma pyöri pienellä kaveriporukalla, koskaan ei käsiä ollut aivan kylliksi.’ (Q56:12.)

Tapahtuman organisaatioväki hätäntyi sateesta pahimman kerran, mutta onneksi paikalle saapunut [name of the person removed] otti ohjat käsiinsä, ja laittoi sekä vieraat että järjestäjät roudaamaan dj-kamat sekä paviljonkiteltan yhden konteista sisään. Näin muodostui "hätämaja", jossa esiintyjät ja tanssijat pystyivät jatkamaan menoa säästä huolimatta. (Q4:7.)

Toimijat on usein ystäviä keskenään ja ihmiset tietävät toistensa vahvuudet ja heikkoudet, ja osaavat vaatia ja pyytää asioita toisiltaan sen mukaan. (Q28:18.)

‘Meillä oli hyvä tiimi, jossa oli paljon erilaista osaamista, ja niitä voitiin hyödyntää eri kohdissa tapahtumien järjestelyjä.’ (Q44:9.)

Joskus 2004–2005 tienoilla keikkapyyntöjä alkoi tulla niin paljon, että keikkamailin hoitaminen kävi täyspäivätyöstä ja esiintyjä oli usein 5–10 per viikonloppu. Jotenkin keikoille kuitenkin löytyi lipunmyyjät, baarinpitäjät, loppusiivoajat, kaljaroudarit, bändiroudarit ja äänentoistokamat. Nykyään vastaava vuoden parin keikkarumba nollabudjetilla vapaaehtoisvoimin tuntuu ajatuksena ihan mahdottomalta, mutta toisaalta toimijoita oli paljon. (Q55:15.)

Omaehtoisessa tilassa toimiminen luo usein myös uusia yhteisöjä ja yhdistää samoista asioista kiinnostuneita ihmisiä, [--] (Q2:22.)

Aika oli otollinen, filosofisesti sanoen Helsingissä tapahtui kulttuurin kenttien hedelmällinen perikoreesi, monet skenet läpäisivät toisensa ja virtasivat toisiinsa. Kaapelitehtaan Studio Lå-bas oli näiden virtausten yksi risteysasema. (Q56:8.)

Tilaa oli synnyttämässä aluksi noin 15 hengen muusikoista ja taiteilijoista koostuva Vadelman ydinryhmä, ja tilojen valmistuessa mukaan virtasi uutta verta, kuvataiteilijoita (paljon mm. [name of the art school removed]), taiteilevia punkkareita ja hippejä, bändejä ja muusikoita, videotekijöitä ja valokuvaajia jne.) (Q15:10.)

[V]arsin monet osallistuivat Vadelman klubien ja festivaalien suunnitteluun ja toteutukseen. Ja näin syntyi myös kirjoituspiiri, joka kokoontui lukemaan omia tekstejään ääneen; Vadelma UNI—avoin performanssikollektiivi, joka teki esityksiä, videoita, improvisaatioita ja nukkeanimaatioita; Random Doctors -VJkollektiivi, joka teki videoaktioita kaupunkitilaan sekä visuaaleja Vadelman tapahtumiin; Vadelman leffakerho, jossa katsottiin taiteellisesti tai muuten kiinnostavia elokuvia, musiikkidokkareita ja lyhäreitä. Yhdessä luovasti toimiminen oli Vadelmalle hyvin keskeistä, ja tila oli siinä ratkaisevassa osassa. (Q15:1.)

Ulkopaikkakuntalaisena liftailin pitkiäkin matkoja Oranssille [--]. (Q35:7.)

Se oli ensinmäinen kerta kun soitimme Helsingissä ja kannustava ilmapiiri antoi itseluottamusta omaan tekemiseen kun ”hesassakin tykättiin”, ja nykyään noita keikkoja on takana useita satoja. Paikan poliittinen ilmapiiri kannusti jatkaa toimintaa yhteiskunnallisen toiminnan parissa. Paria vuotta myöhemmin aloimme puuhata Kouvolaan samanlaisella sapluunalla omaehtoista musiikki- ja kulttuuritilaa [name of the space removed] ja käytin esikuvana ja esimerkkinä tilaa tehdessämme Vuoritaloa, ”kyllä se Hesassakin onnistui, kyllä mekin onnistutaan”. [name of the space removed] ovat olleet toiminnassa nyt jo 13 vuotta. (Q26:10.)

Jengi tuli talon juurelta, toiselta puolelta maapalloa ja siltä väliltä. (Q11:5.)

Bändejä tuli eripuolelta Eurooppaa ja jopa Kiinasta asti. Mielenkiintoisena sivuhuomiona voisin mainita, että kiinalaisen [name of the band removed] visiitti johti siihen, että Vuoritalo mainittiin *Insider's Guide to Beijing* -kirjassa! (Q25:7.)

Tuntuu, että itse sain kummastakin tilasta pontta tapahtumajärjestämiseen, mikä on myöhemmin jatkunut eritiloissa ja erilaisten tapahtumien merkeissä.’ (Q2:26.)

Osa alkoi järjestämään keikkoja [name of the bar and identifying information removed] ja osa alkoi suunnitella [name of the event removed]. Tietysti jako ei ollut mitenkään selkeä, [name of the bar removed] oli ainakin yksi [a squatting event; name removed]-tukikeikka ja itsekin kävin ja välillä myin lippuja [name of the bar removed] muilla keikoilla (mm. [name of the club removed]). (Q11:6.)

syntyi yhteisöhenki, joka siivitti valtaustoimintaa vuosiksi eteenpäin. (Q39:7.)

2010-luvulla Là-bas- tapahtumat keskittyivät kansainvälisiin festivaaleihin taidemuseoissa ja muissa isommissa tiloissa Helsingissä, [--] (Q56:10.)

Satamassa sain monipuolisesti kokemusta omaehtoisesta toimimisesta kokousten, kaikenlaisen organisoinnin sekä onnistumisten (ja epäonnistumistenkin) ja yhteisöllisyyden myötä. Sen pohjalta oli hyvä jatkaa toimintaa toisaalla. (Q18:14.)

Vuoritalossa treenasi ensimmäinen bändini, sen autotalleihin perustetuissa treenikämpissä nauhoitettiin eka demo. (Q1:11.)

‘Myös käpyläläisiä teinejä paikka houkutti, myöhemmin jotkut sanoivatkin että heistä tuli punkkareita Vuoritalon takia.’ (Q11:6.)

erittäin merkityksellistä. (Q33:11.)

Myös tunne siitä, että oli osa historiallista ja kansainvälistä punk- ja squat -kulttuuria tuntui merkitykselliseltä (Q1:24.)

Koin olevani oikeassa paikassa ja ns. omieni seurassa, tekemässä jotain merkityksellistä, konkreettista ja aitoa. Uskon, että Sataman tarjoama sosiaalinen viiteryhmä ja omien arvojeni kanssa yhtenevät agendat olivat todella tärkeitä oman ns. henkisen kasvuni ja oman itseni ja “paikkani” löytämisen kannalta. (Q18:14.)

[K]aikkeen toimintaan liittyi vapaus normeista ja vapaus, joka syntyi siitä, että asettui valtakulttuurin ulkopuolelle. Silloin ei tarvinnut välittää siitä, miten sopii kuvaan ja ketä häiritsee, sai olla oma itsensä. (Q1:24.)

Nuorena miehenä ainoita paikkoja Helsingissä ja Suomessa, missä en tuntenut oloani ulkopuoliseksi, oli oma tila silloin kun siellä oli oma tapahtuma menossa. Studiomme rientoineen oli tuohon aikaan kieltämättä allekirjoittaneen tyyppinen paikka. (Q56:18.)

Vaikka puitteet olivat vaatimattomat, oli hienoa, että saimme treenikämpän lisäksi sellaisen paikan, jossa sai olla ilmaiseksi ja vapaasti, ilman että joku laatii ulkoapäin säännöt. Emme kokeneet omaksemme esimerkiksi Nosturia tai Nuorisoihminenkeskuksen tiloja silloinkaan kun olimme nuorempia. (Q6:7.)

Klubin järkkääminen oli 2000-luvun alkupuolella tosi suuri osa identiteettiä. Tuo kokeellinen underground-skene tuntui "omalta jutulta" ja paljon siistimmältä, kun oikeastaan mikään muu. (Q3:8.)

‘Bileiden järjestäminen oli silloin elämäni tärkein asia. Se \_oli\_ elämäni.’ (Q46:20)

Musiikki oli elämäntapa ja näissä paikoissa pyöriminen oli myös elämäntapa. Se oli muutakin kuin vapaa-aikaa. Ajattelimme, että työssäkäyminen mahdollisti tämän kaiken muun, bändien kanssa hengailun ja oman bändin toiminnan. (Q50:24.)

Se merkitsi kaikkea, mitä tuli nuorena [gender of the participant removed] tehtyä, kun olisi pitänyt tehdä jotakin ihan muuta ja hyödyllisempää, ja mikä nykyhetken perspektiivistä katsoen kuitenkin on nimenomaan se, mitä voin sanoa tuohon aikaan tehneeni, jos ylipäänsä jotain sain tehtyä. Aikoinaan se oli yhtä aikaa työ, huvi, teoria ja käytäntö—nautinto, elämäntapa, melkein uskonto: tapahtumasta tapahtumaan, esityksestä esitykseen, myrskyn silmässä likaisilla lattioilla piuhoja kytkien ilman ajatustakaan mistään muusta korvauksesta kuin se tila ja tilanne itse. (Q56:27.)



Se merkitsi kaikkea, mitä tuli nuorena [identifying information removed] tehtyä, kun olisi pitänyt tehdä jotakin ihan muuta ja hyödyllisempää, ja mikä nykyhetken perspektiivistä katsoen kuitenkin on nimenomaan se, mitä voin sanoa tuohon aikaan tehneeni, jos ylipäänsä jotain sain tehtyä. Aikoinaan se oli yhtä aikaa työ, huvi, teoria ja käytäntö—nautinto, elämäntapa, melkein uskonto: tapahtumasta tapahtumaan, esityksestä esitykseen, myrskyn silmässä likaisilla lattioilla piuhoja kytkien ilman ajatustakaan mistään muusta korvauksesta kuin se tila ja tilanne itse. (Q56:27.)

[K]aipaisin elämääni edelleen mahdollisuutta järjestää vastaavanlaisia tapahtumia samoista ideologisista lähtökohdista. Ikävä kyllä Helsingissä ei ole tarkoitukseen sopivia avoimia tiloja, ainakaan sellaisia joihin itselläni olisi pääsy. (Q33:11.)

Vaikea sanoa mikä näiden juttujen merkitys on omalle identiteetille ollut. Ehkä siinä näki tällaisen ruohonjuuritoiminnan merkityksen ja osaa nykyään antaa arvoa vastaavalle toiminnalle vaikkei itse tulekaan enää oltua pahemmin mukana. Yhteiskunnallisesta näkökulmasta ajattelen, että kaupungissa saisi olla nykyäänkin enemmän vastaavaa vapaata ja ei-kaupallista tilaa. (Q76:9.)

Eniten myöhempään elämään on vaikuttanut musiikki itsessään, mutta välikaikainen autonominen tila on ollut muussakin järkkäilyssä itselle tärkeää. Että oleminen on vähän vapaampaa ja epämuodollisempaa kuin klubeilla tai baareissa. (Q73:18.)

En olisi varmaan ikinä päätenyt "aktivismin" pariin ellen olisi 2003 päätenyt käymään siperiassa. (Q40:12.)

En edes mene tässä nyt siihen, miten oman ug-musan tekeminen ja omakustanteiden askartelu on myöhemmin vienyt pitkin maailmaa soittamaan noita juttuja, jotka silloin 2-kymppisenä tuntuivat aivan älyttömän tärkeiltä :) Nyt vanhana on kaikenlaista muutakin kun elämänkokemus on rikastunut ja laajentunut, mutta kyllä sitä aika vahvasti tuohon aikaan tuli elettyä tuota elämää. Viimeksi soitin puoli-ug-bileissä toisaalta toissayönä Tiivistämöllä, että ei tästä musasta taida irti päästä, eikä onneksi tarvitsekaan :) (Q48:19.)

‘Käyn yhä silloin tällöin punkkikeikoilla [--] mutta elämäntyylini on aika erilainen kuin noihin aikoihin.’ (Q6:14.)

Voisin silti sanoa, että Vuoritalolla ja punkkaripiireissä toimiminen on vaikuttanut maailmankuvaani paljon, esimerkiksi poliittisiin arvoihini. Lisäksi minulla on säilynyt sellainen mentaliteetti, ettei kaiken täydy olla niin justinsa. Huomaan myös, että kun on elänyt puolet elämästään sellaisissa paikoissa, joissa voi korjata rikki menneitä tavaroita luovasti romulla, vuorata seinät vaikka Riitta Väisäsen kuvilla ja syödä kuraisella lattialla dyykattua ruokaa mummon vanha alushame päällä, voi välillä esimerkiksi toimistotyössä tuntua siltä kuin ei vielääkään aivan kuuluisi joukkoon ja olisi ikään kuin peitetehtävissä. Vaikka välillä olen kamppailutkin pienen identiteettikriisin kanssa, koen että tämä on pääasiassa suuri rikkaus, kun on voinut elää niin monenlaista elämää, nähdä niin paljon ja viettää aikaa erilaisten ihmisten kanssa. (Q6:14.)

Pian lumien sulattua aloitettiin työt betoniskeittiparkin rakentamiseksi noin kymmenen aktiivisen harrastajan toimesta. Tavoitteena oli, ei sen vähäisempi kuin, rakentaa Suomeen ensimmäinen kunnon betoniskeittiparkki, oppia samalla betonirakentamisen taito ja jakaa tuota tietotaitoa mahdollisimman laajemmalle joukolle... Aikaisempaa kokemusta betonitoista ei ollut, joten kaikki opittiin uutena; usein kantapään kautta. (Q13:2.)

Sai onnistumisia ja opettavia epäonnistumisia hyvässä ympäristössä ilman turhia riskejä. (Q2:26.)

Konttiaukiolla oli mahdollisuus kokeilla, epäonnistua ja oppia tapahtumien järjestämiseen liittyviä asioita. Siitä muodostuikin nopeasti ponnahduslauta ja koti kymmenille eri epäkaupalliselle toimijalle, pääasiassa musiikkitapahtumien järjestäjille. (Q54:5.)

[T]oiminnan täysi vapaaehtoisuus vaikuttaa ilmapiiriin mielestäni yleisesti hyvin. Jos ei jaksaa järkeä, niin kukaan ei pakota mukaan! (Q28:18.)

Vuoritalo oli ensimmäinen paikka, jossa opin ottamaan vastuuta oman alakulttuurini ylläpitämisestä ja sen eteen tehtävästä työstä olemassa toiminnassa aktiivisesti mukana pelkän yleisöroolin sijasta. [--]. Vuoritalolla oli siis vahvasti voimauttava vaikutus henkilökohtaiseen elämäni, sen myötä kehityin kuluttajasta aktiiviseksi tekijäksi. (Q1:11.)

Ehkä isoin juttu itselle on ollut oppia ja huomata, kuinka nuoret kaupunkikulttuurin tekijät pystyvät tekemään itsenäisesti ja vailla liikaa holhousta todella upeaa toimintaa ja tapahtumia. Vastuun antaminen on johtanut vastuiden itsenäiseen kantamiseen. (Q38:7.)

Moni nuori oppi ottamaan vastuuta ja järjestämään kulttuuria. (Q49:10.)

Oli paljon vaikutusta siihen, mitä nyt teen ja osaan tehdä. (43:28.)

Olin itse aika nuori tuolloin, joten en ottanut osaa keikkojen tekniseen toteutukseen. Myöhemmissä Helsingin valtauspaikoissa olinkin jo kokeneempi ja pystyin ottamaan osaa keikkojen järkkäämiseen. (Q39:8.)

ammatin tapahtumien tuottamisesta (Q69:9)

Opin oikeastaan kaiken tapahtumatuottamisesta, mitä siihen vaaditaan, millaisia asioita pitää ottaa huomioon, miten lupaprosessit hoidetaan, millä tavalla saadaan rahoitusta, miten vapaaehtoistyötä johdetaan, millaisia palkintoja siitä saa kun rahaa ei makseta. (Q69:19.)

Itseäni alkoi ainakin kiinnostaa enemmän oma musiikin tekeminen kuin keikkojen järkkääminen muille, ja olin ehkä ollut koko toiminnan veturi. [name of the person removed] alkoi into hyytyä ja tekemisen paino siirtyi vähän toisaalle. Se ei ollut yhtäkkinen päätös, vaan hidasta hiipumista. (Q3:10.)

‘Vuoden 2017 tapahtuman jälkeen oli aistittavissa, että seuraavana vuonna tuskin jaksamme järjestää enää bileitä.’ (Q44:14.)

Katu on Punkin suhteen alkoi rassaamaan se vaivannäkö ja poliittisuuden väheneminen, enemmän ja enemmän jengiä jotka tuli kadulle vain dokaamaan. Siitä tuli vaaratilanteita poliisien ja autoilijoiden kanssa. (Q11:18.)

Kävin keikoilla loppuun asti, mutta muistelin ettei minulla olisi ollut mitään aktiivista roolia enää vuokrasopimuksen jälkeen. Aktiivisin panokseni taisikin olla alkuvaiheessa, kun paikkaa rakennettiin. Osallistuminen päättyi siihen, kun toiminta paikassa päättyi. (Q25:16.)

Myöskin, Omenapuutalon vuokraaminen ei ollut enää mahdollista ja muut tilat mitä olimme aiemmin katselleet tuntuivat ainakin minulle hieman tylsiltä ja sellaisilta, joissa ei ollut samanlaista tunnelmaa ja muokkausmahdollisuuksia, jotka olisivat sopineet meidän tapahtumiemme jatkumoon. (Q44:14.)

Aloin muutama vuosi sitten soittaa omia keikkoja niin paljon, etten keikkareissujen välipäivinä ole enää jaksanut lähteä järjestämään muiden keikkoja. Varsinkaan jos joudun käymään ansiotöissä oman keikkailun lisäksi. (Q28:14.)

Muut hommat alkoivat viedä niin paljon aikaa ja toisaalta halusin tehdä jotain erilaista, niin hiljalleen rooli pieneni. Vuonna 2016 en ollut Suomessa töiden takia tapahtuman aikaan, joten silloin loppui lopullisesti mukana olo. (Q43:16.)

Yleinen väsymys alkoi iskeä, ja oma sosiaalinen lähiverkosto alkoi siirtyä töihin ja yliopistolle ja saada lapsia. Olin itse muuttamassa pohjoiseen opiskelemaan, kun Siperia paloi kesäkuussa 2006 maan tasalle. Mikä ei sinällään ollut yllättävää. Meno oli ollut ihan liian kaoottista ja päihteidenkäyttö tiloissa ja tapahtumissa oli ilmeisesti levinnyt jossain määrin käsiin. (Q55:20.)

Ehkä kun täytti 18 ja pääsi baareihin niin se tuntui muutaman vuoden freshimmältä, sain myös lapsen 20 vuotiaana joka vei vähän eri suuntaan. Myös musiikkikenttä tuntui ammattimaistuvan aika paljon jossain vaiheessa. Oikeastaan vasta 2010 luvun loppupuoliskon ug teknomeno tuntui palauttavan tietyllä tapaa samankaltaisen tekemisen. Ehkä oma ikä ja ystävät olivat juuri tuolloin syy että päätyi Oranssille ja Siperiaan. (Q77:14.)